This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

22936 e. 98
/2

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

WITH

ANECDOTES OF THE COURT OF HENRY II.

DURING HER RESIDENCE IN FRANCE.

By MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF ANN BOLEYN,"
"MRS. ELIZABETH HAMILTON," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1823.

Digitized by Google

BODLEIAN
P
15 MAY 1963
LIBRARY

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Removal of Mary from court to Orleans. — Her residence at Rheims. —Her visit to Lorrain. — Perplexity of the reforming party in Scotland. — Mary's interview with Lord James. — Appears at the sacre of Charles the Ninth, at Rheims. — Returns to Paris. — Homage of the princes and courtiers. — Conversations with Throckmorton. — Her farewell to France. — Departure from St. Germains to Calais. — Embarkation. — Her despondence during the voyage. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1

CHAP. II.

Knox. — His influence. — His prejudices against Mary. — His description of her reception. — Sketches of her ministers. — The Lord James Maitland of Lethington. — The Earl of Morton. — The Earl of Huntly. — The English

Digitized by Google

Page

resident Randolph. — Establishment of Mary's household. — Her munificence. — Extracts from Randolph's letters, communicating various sketches of her court. - - - - - - 41

CHAP. III.

Mary under Murray's tutelage. — Various speculations on her marriage. — Restoration of the Earl of Lennox. — Arrival of Darnley, and progress of his suit. — Opposition from Murray and Elizabeth. — Marriage of Darnley and Mary. - - - - - - - - - - - 83

CHAP. IV.

Campaign of Mary and Darnley. — Elizabeth's treatment of Murray. — Conspiracy of Morton, Ruthven, and Darnley against Rizio. - - - 122

CHAP. V.

Dissension between Mary and Darnley. — Mary's illness at Jedburgh. — Divorce proposed. — Baptism of James. — Darnley's illness. — Reconciliation with the Queen. — Death. - - 153

CHAP. VI.

Marriage of Mary to Bothwell. — Surrenders to Morton and the confederates, on Carberry-hill. —Imprisonment at Lochleven.—Her extorted

Digitized by Google

Page
abdication.—Coronation of her son.—Escape.
—Battle of Langside.—Flight to England. - 206

CHAP. VII.

A sketch of Mary's residence in England. - - 266

ADDITIONAL NOTES. - - - - - - - - 348

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MEMOIRS

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER I.

REMOVAL OF MARY FROM COURT, TO ORLEANS. — HER RESIDENCE AT RHEIMS. — HER VISIT TO LORRAIN. — PERPLEXITY OF THE REFORMING PARTY IN SCOTLAND. — MARY'S INTERVIEW WITH LORD JAMES. — APPEARS AT THE SACRE OF CHARLES THE NINTH, AT RHEIMS. — RETURNS TO PARIS. — HOMAGE OF THE PRINCES AND COURTIERS. — CONVERSATIONS WITH THROGMORTON. HER FAREWELL TO FRANCE. — DEPARTURE FROM ST. GERMAINS TO CALAIS. — EMBARKATION. — HER DESPONDENCE DURING THE VOYAGE.

It is well known, that there is no stage of human life where the scene changes so rapidly as in a court. In a few hours, the death of Francis seemed forgotten. To his tutors *

* The sieurs Sansac and Brosse. This unfeeling abandonment of a monarch, in whose name they had lately exercised supreme authority, drew much obloquy on the Princes of Guise.

Digitized by Google

was left the care of his interment, whilst his mother, with ardor, devoted herself to the more imposing task of modelling the administration. The Duke of Guise, and King of Navarre, alike submitted to her sway, whilst the Cardinal disguised the ignominy of his defeat, withdrawing to his archiepiscopal palace at Rheims, and affecting to confine himself to his religious vocation. Mary's natural impulse was to abandon the palace in which Catherine lived and reigned. But she too well understood what was due to herself not to retire with dignity; and without betraying the consciousness of humiliation, prudently removed to a château, near Orleans, avowedly to indulge in privacy her unregarded sorrows.* Even here she was not long suffered to remain. A visit from Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador, escaped not Catherine's vigilance, and her quick-sighted jealousy detected in it an embryo treaty of marriage between the Queen of Scots and Don Carlos of Spain. Alarmed at the suggestion, she signified to the Duke and Cardinal, that it was her pleasure their niece should remove to a greater distance.

* Melvil.— *Observations sur les Mémoires de Castelnau*, Vol. XLI. *De la Collection Universelle de Mémoires relatives à l'Histoire de France.*

Digitized by Google

Humility was a hard lesson to Mary; but her education had now recommenced, and for the first time she began to see men and things as they really were. Whether Catherine's impatience to be relieved from her presence originated in motives of policy, or personal antipathy, must be left to conjecture. But as she seldom allowed her conduct to be influenced by passion, it is more probable, that her rigour was but a precaution to prevent the Princes of Lorrain from forming, in the person of their widowed niece, such an alliance as, in the critical state of parties in France, might enable them to regain their former ascendancy in the cabinet. By whatever motives she was actuated, her will was now omnipotent; and even the high-spirited Duke of Guise exerted his influence with Mary, to induce her, for Catherine's satisfaction, to depart for Rheims, from whence his brother was hereafter to accompany her to Joinville, to pay a farewell-visit to his mother, the Duchess Dowager of Guise. After which, he suggested the propriety of her departure for Scotland, where her presence was required. From this proposal, Mary, at first, recoiled with involuntary horror; nor was it likely that, by visiting the tomb of her mother, whose remains had been deposited in the royal abbey

Digitized by Google

at Rheims, she should learn to vanquish her repugnance.

The fate of that meritorious, though misguided princess, Mary of Guise, was universally attributed to the chagrin she had endured in Scotland; and if such a woman, in the full maturity of her powers, and confessedly distinguished by consummate prudence, had failed in the attempt to maintain regular government, how little was it to be expected, that Mary, yet in the spring of youth, without experience or judgment, should prove successful in the unequal conflict. To this objection, it was answered by her advisers, that her mother's misfortunes had originated in the abortive effort to resist the establishment of the Reformation; that this point being relinquished, the Queen of Scots, her daughter, would be cordially welcomed to the throne of her ancestors; and having secured the affections of her subjects, might gradually reclaim them to the Holy See. Nor did Cardinal Lorrain forget to urge the facilities which the vicinity of England must afford in promoting her speculations on the sceptre of Elizabeth. The last argument was perhaps the most powerful; but though pride, ambition, and reason, conspired to force Mary from France, they could not reconcile her to the hard neces-

Digitized by Google

sity which decreed her banishment. Yet, slighted as she had already been by the court, it was soothing to her wounded feelings to receive, both from Catholics and Protestants, a cordial invitation to return to her native country. In reality, the young king's death had been scarcely more critical to France than to Scotland, where the reformers * had began seriously to entertain designs of withdrawing that allegiance, which rendered them dependent on a foreign government. Nor is it improbable but that, had Francis survived, the independent party might have raised the standard of revolt, and anticipated the triumph which in Holland was some years after gloriously realised. In contemplating the changes which had lately taken place in that country, nothing excites so much astonishment as the unexampled, and almost incredible facility, with which, after having deposed the Regent, a few Protestant lords and citizens had proceeded in convention to abolish the mass, and to denounce the penalty of banishment or death on all who should persist in publicly exhibiting the antient forms of worship. From this circumstance it would, however, be rash

* See Keith and Cecil's correspondence with Maitland, in Haynes and Forbes' *State Papers*.

Digitized by Google

to infer, that the spirit of Catholicism was subdued, or that the conformity of worship, which those enterprising leaders had imposed, resulted from general assent and simultaneous agreement. It is even doubtful how far the Protestants were numerically superior to their adversaries; in talents, energy, and intelligence, there was no parity between them. It should also be observed, that the ministers of religion were also the leaders of popular insurrection, and that the state of society, in which the people had suddenly passed from the lethargy of superstition to the delirium of fanatical excitement, was peculiarly calculated to accelerate a revolution in the opinions, the feelings, and even the habits of the community. Above all, the oppression of the Guises, the horror and detestation excited by the persecution, of which France and Spain presented so many awful examples, had inspired an energy, an omnipotence of will, that almost assumed the character of preternatural inspiration. But such an exaltation of feeling could not be permanent; and whenever its effervescence subsided, a reaction was to be expected from the oppressed party. It was notorious that many of the nobles adhered to the antient faith, and that in various parts of the kingdom, more particularly towards the north,

Digitized by Google

were to be found its disguised partizans, who deplored the humiliation of their church, and watched for a propitious moment to raise it from the dust. The true position of the two parties, after the death of Francis, is ably stated in a letter from William Maitland, of Lethington, a man of exquisite talents and address, who had originally been secretary to the Queen Regent, but in the late commotions seceded to the Congregation, to which he was now firmly attached; and to whose ostensible chief, the Queen's brother, commonly called the Lord James, or the Prior of St. Andrew's, he appeared to be entirely devoted.

A Letter from the Laird of Lethington to Sir William Cecil.

" Sir,

" That thus long I have delayed to write " unto your honour, I pray, impute it only to " my absence: I have been these forty days in " the north parts of Scotland with my Lord " James, where we have not been altogether " unoccupied; but so far as occasion would " serve, advancing the religion and common " cause. Since our returning, I have under- " stood the stay of Monsieur d'Osel, and " judge that you have wisely foreseen the in- " conveniences that might have followed upon

Digitized by Google

" his coming hither. I do also allow your
" opinion anent the Queen our sovereign's
" journey towards Scotland; whose coming
" hither, if she be enemy to the religion, and
" so affected towards that realm, as she yet
" appeareth, shall not fail to raise wonderful
" tragedies. Although the religion here hath
" in *outward appearance* the upper hand, and
" *few or none there be that openly dare profess*
" *the contrary, yet know we the hollow hearts*
" *of a great number, who would be glad to see*
" *it and us overthrown; and if time served,*
" *would join with her authority to that effect:*
" but I foresee, that the difficulty thereof
" shall make that which is most principal in
" intention be last in execution. Sure I am,
" the suppressing of religion is chiefly meant,
" but the same must be pressed but by in-
" direct means. First of all, the comfort
" which we have of the Queen's majesty's *
" friendship must be cut off by dissolution of
" the intelligence begun of late; which being
" not feasible in her absence, her own pre-
" sence will make more easy. The Papists,
" you know, be in their hearts, for religion's

*. Elizabeth, — a correspondence with whose ministers had commenced during the commotions in Scotland, and was regularly continued till her death.

Digitized by Google

" sake, altogether enemies to this conjunction.
" Those that gave themselves forth for Pro-
" testants be not all alike earnestly bent to
" maintain it. Some have been accustomed
" so to feed upon the French fare, that their
" delicate stomachs cannot well digest any
" other. Some be so covetous, that where-
" soever the lure of commodity is showed
" unto them, thither will they fly. Some so
" inconstant, that they may be easily carried
" away by the countenance of their princess's
" presence, sometimes showing them a good
" visage, and sometimes, as occasion shall re-
" quire, frowning on them. Others there be
" so careless and ignorant, that they will
" rather respect their present ease, which shall
" bring after it most grievous calamities, than
" with the hazard of a little present in-
" commodity put them and theirs in full
" security afterwards: these to be a great
" number, in our late danger, we had large
" experience; yet I doubt not, but the best
" sort will constantly and stoutly bear out
" that which they have begun. Marry, what
" difficulty and hazard shall be in it, you may
" judge, when the Queen shall so easily win
" to her party the whole Papists, and so many
" Protestants as be either addicted to the

Digitized by Google

" French faction *, covetous, inconstant, un-
" easy, ignorant, or careless. So long as her
" Highness is absent, in this case, there is no
" peril; but you may judge what the presence
" of a prince, being craftily counselled, is able
" to bring to pass. Every man once in a
" year hath to do with his prince's benevo-
" lence: if at that time, when his particular
" business occurreth, her countenance shall
" be but strange to him in sight of the
" peril, in what case shall the subject then
" be? Every man hath in his private causes
" some enemy or unfriend: what boldness
" shall they not take, seeing an advantage,
" and knowing their adversary to be out of
" the prince's good grace? She will not be
" served with those that bear any good-will
" to England. Some quarrel shall be picked
" to them, not directly for religion at the first;
" but where the accusation of heresy would
" be odious, men must be charged with treason.
" The like of this in that realm, I think, hath
" been seen in Queen Mary's days; a few
" number thus disgraced, despatched, or dis-
" persed, the rest will be an easy prey, and
" then may the butchery of Bonner plainly

* The French and English factions still distracted Scotland.

Digitized by Google

" begin. I make not this discourse as our " meaning to debar her Majesty from her " kingdom, or that we would wish she should " never come home, (for that were the part " of an unnatural subject,) but rather desiring " such things as be *necessary so to be pro-* " *vided for in the mean time*, that neither she, " by following the wicked advice of God's " enemies, to lose the hearts of her subjects, " neither yet so many as tender the glory of " God and liberties of their native country, to " be the sons of death. The best is, that in- " telligence begun betwixt these two king- " doms may endure and be increased, the " breach whereof I know will be attempted " by all means possible.

" The great desire I have of the continu- " ance, maketh me so earnest to wish that her " Majesty may be induced by good means to " enter in the same conjunction; whereunto " if she cannot by one way or other be per- " suaded, then can I not but doubt of the " success in the end. Although I do chiefly " respect the common cause and public estate, " yet doth my own private not a little move " me to be careful in this behalf. In what " case I stand you will easily judge by sight " of the inclosed, which I pray you return to

Digitized by Google

" me with speed.* I know by my very " friends in France, that she hath conceived " such an opinion of my affection towards " England, that it killeth all the means I can " have to enter in any favor.

" But if it might be compassed that the " Queen's Majesty and her highness might " be as dear friends as they be tender cou- " sins, then were I able enough to have as " good part in her good grace, as any other " of my quality in Scotland. If this cannot " be brought to pass, then I see well, at length " it will be hard for me to dwell in Rome, " and strive with the pope. I assure you this " whole realm is in a miserable case. If the " Queen our Sovereign come shortly home, " the dangers be evident and many; and if " she shall not come, it is not without great " peril; yea, what is not to be feared in a " realm lacking lawful government? It is " now more than two years past that we have " lived in a manner without any regiment; " which when I consider sometimes with my- " self, I marvel from whence doth proceed " the quietness which we presently enjoy, the " like whereof I think, all circumstances be-

* In the margin is added, I pray you that the letter inclosed come not to light.

Digitized by Google

" ing weighed, was never seen in any realm.
" It would seem impossible that any people
" could so long be contained in order, with-
" out fear of punishment and strict execution
" of the laws; and, indeed, I cannot by search-
" ing, find out any probable reason, but only
" that it has pleased the goodness of God to
" give this glory to his truth preached among
" us; but by all worldly judgment, the policy
" cannot thus long endure; so that for this
" respect her absence to us is most pernicious.
" Thus, whether she come or not, we be in a
" great strait. But you will say, hath not the
" council the regiment? yes, some in appear-
" ance, but none in very deed; and that which
" is, doth in a manner serve only for a shadow
" to so many as do willingly obey: but to
" know what authority it hath, you must re-
" duce to your remembrance the treaty made
" at Edinburgh, wherein for the government
" of the realm was accorded an article, That
" the estates in parliament should nominate
" twenty-four persons of the most capable of
" the whole realm, of whom the Queen should
" choose eight, and the estates thereafter six;
" which fourteen so chosen should be the
" council. According whereunto the estates
" in the next parliament thereafter nominated
" twenty-four, whose names were sent to the

Digitized by Google

" Queen; but neither would her Majesty,
" being required, ratify that treaty, confirm
" our proceedings in that parliament, nor
" allow the nomination of the said twenty-
" four, but hath always deferred, and thus
" long fed us with hope of her own coming.
" It is true that some of the persons nomin-
" ated have taken upon them the management
" of things since that time, to do the best they
" might. You may reply, why? Doth not
" the whole regiment appertain to the nobi-
" lity in absence of your Sovereign? yes:
" but how willingly, think you, will some of
" the noblemen obey, which think themselves
" nothing inferior to the others? and yet, be-
" ing Papists, or otherwise unapt for counsel,
" were neglected by the estates in the nomin-
" ation, and now are stirred up privily, and
" comforted by the Queen to disallow our
" proceedings: and if the council should take
" the way which is most meet for maintenance
" of their own state and forthsetting of their
" authority, then fear I that eschewing Scylla,
" they should fall into Charybdis. Many
" things are requisite to bear out a public
" authority, which cannot be done with-
" out public charges; and we dare not once
" touch any part of the Prince's revenues:
" the noblemen's estates be scarce sufficient

Digitized by Google

" to maintain their own part, specially absent
" from their houses. I believe it would be
" hard for a number of noblemen in England
" to continue always at London upon their
" own charges, where they could have nothing
" bought but for ready money. Thus, if they
" meddle with no part of the Prince's rents,
" the public charges cannot be borne; and if
" they should but meddle with so much as is
" necessary, thereupon shall the Queen take
" occasion to accuse us to all princes as usurp-
" ers of the patrimony of her crown; so must
" we either incur in this accusation, or else
" suffer the whole policy to be dissolved for
" lack of regiment. I pray you, by your next
" letters, let me in this point hear your ad-
" vice, and what the Queen's Majesty will
" think in it; for if her Highness allow our
" doings, we will the less care what other
" foreign princes think of us. For my opi-
" nion anent the continuance of amity betwixt
" these two realms, there is no danger of
" breach so long as the Queen is absent; and
" if all men were so persuaded as I am, or did
" consider the consequence which I foresee,
" little peril would be after her coming; but
" her presence may alter many things. I trust
" so many as have made promise to the
" Queen's Majesty, shall sooner be driven

Digitized by Google

" from your friendship by force, than they
" will forsake it by their good wills. I will
" always at my uttermost study that no seed
" of division take root betwixt the Duke of
" Chastelherault and my Lord James, on
" whose concord the weal of our cause doth
" depend. It will serve as well to confirm
" them in the Queen's Majesty's devotion, as
" also to encourage them to go constantly
" and stoutly forward, if they shall under-
" stand from her Highness, that so long as
" they will continue friends to England, her
" Majesty will not forsake them, but will suc-
" cour and aid them if necessity require it, in
" case the Queen at her coming home, either
" mean to alter the state of religion, or
" yet begin to persecute such as have ad-
" vanced the common cause. For renewing
" of a league, this I have thought, it would
" more irritate and offend the Queen our Sove-
" reign Lady, and she will worse take it, as
" meant particularly against herself, if we now,
" being delivered from present par of stran-
" gers, should enter in anew, than when the
" King her husband was alive, and them that
" be faint-hearted amongst ourselves will not
" easily be persuaded; therefore, methinks it
" were convenient, if it could be compassed,
" that a league were devised betwixt the

Digitized by Google

" Queen's Majesty, the Princes Protestant of
" Germany, so many of France as profess
" the religion, the Kings of Denmark and
" Sweden, at least so many as would embrace
" it for maintenance of religion, in which
" league we also would desire to be compre-
" hended, which cause, as it is most plausible
" to the world, so will it at first be best al-
" lowed. To the end the estates may be
" shortly assembled for answering of the
" Queen's letter, which Mr. Randolph hath
" for them, we have framed a letter for their
" convocation, whereof I rend you herewith
" a copy, pretending only the Queen's com-
" ing; for if the most part knew it were for
" any matter concerning England, they would
" absent themselves. It will breed some
" jealousy to the Queen, if we, after our as-
" sembling, send any of our nation to the
" Queen's Majesty; and yet it is most neces-
" sary that the present estate of this realm,
" and the apparent of the future, be imparted
" to her Majesty; for which purpose I have
" thought, if you should allow of it conveni-
" ent, that Mr. Randolph shall come, by
" whose report you will be more amply in-
" formed, than you can by writing; and we
" shall more particularly understand the
" Queen's intention, and your opinion on

Digitized by Google

" every behalf. Let me by your next under-
" stand what you think thereof. In times
" coming, when it shall happen the Queen's
" Majesty to write to the Duke's Grace, it
" shall be well done, that either her Majesty,
" or you by her commandment, write some-
" what to my Lord of Arran, his son, to fur-
" ther the matter. So I wish your honour
" farewell." *

From the contents of this letter, it is evident that nothing could have been so acceptable to the Protestant chiefs, as that Mary should continue to reside in France, devolving the Regency on one of their party. This hope being dissipated by the annunciation of her intended return to Scotland, they naturally became desirous to win her confidence; and, for that purpose, wisely delegated to the prior of St. Andrew's, the illegitimate son of James the Fifth, the duty of offering her their loyal service.

The mother of this young nobleman was Margaret Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Mar, a high-spirited beauty, who, far from acquiescing in the degradation which attaches to the character even of a royal mistress, pertinaciously insisted that she had not yielded even to a monarch's solicitations, without a

* Appendix in Keith, page 92.

Digitized by Google

private contract of marriage, and that she was in reality the first and only lawful wife of James the Fifth. With whatever distrust such protestations might be received, it could not be denied that her subsequent conduct had furnished no corresponding instance of impropriety, nor, till her ambitious hopes became extinct, did she condescend to espouse Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, by whom she had several children, who were early taught to treat their elder brother James with respectful deference, a circumstance that conspired, with the consciousness of talent, to impress his mind with high ideas of superior dignity and importance. The lofty pretensions of his mother were obviously calculated to nourish the ambition that commonly accompanies vigorous intellect; even the disadvantages attached to his birth must have stimulated his efforts to secure to himself an unequivocal rank and station. But it appears not probable that he imbibed from the Lady Margaret those fantastic dreams of royalty imputed to him by his enemies, and to which his cool judgment and characteristic discretion were invariably opposed; nor could it have escaped his discernment, that the circumstances in which he was placed offered no parallel with the times of Robert Bruce, since without re-

Digitized by Google

verting to the rights of Mary, the presumptive claims of the rival houses of Hamilton and Lennox must for ever bar his pretensions to a regal sceptre. If he aspired to supreme authority, he must have been sensible that he had no other chance of attaining it than by the intervention of a regency, or the establishment of a commonwealth; in reality, it was to that point the efforts of the more strenuous reformers were directed during the reign of Francis the Second, nor was it less true that the Lord James, though not arrived at his thirtieth year, had obtained from his enemies and his friends the reputation of a consummate statesman. Originally bred to the church, he had been endowed with the richest abbey in Scotland, and though he seceded from the community, continued to appropriate to himself its revenues. During the struggles for religion, he was among the first to embrace the doctrines of the reformation, among the most zealous in upholding Knox and defending his principles. During the late commotions, his vigorous conduct had attracted the admiration of Elizabeth; and, what was still more important, secured the confidence of Cecil, who was notoriously more attached to the puritans than he ventured to acknowledge to his sovereign mistress. To have gained such

Digitized by Google

powerful friends was sufficient compensation for having provoked the enmity of France, and excited the suspicions of Mary of Lorrain, by whom the apostate prior was denounced as an incendiary, whilst by Knox he was extolled as a patriot and a hero.

Amidst these discordant opinions, it is an indisputable fact that in private life, the prior of St. Andrew's was unsullied by the vices common to his age and station; and that his revenues, instead of being wasted on profligate pleasures, were employed in assisting men of indigent merit, who gradually increased to a host of pensioners and retainers, subservient to his will, and ever ready to increase his power and popularity. But the circumstance most favorable to his success was the avowed predilection of Knox, who, having discovered in his character qualities essential to the leader of a party, devolved on him the task of protecting the reformers. In turbulent and uncertain times, when fidelity becomes the pledge of public virtue, it cannot be denied that the Lord James was ever faithful to his trust, and that in whatever degree his patriotism might be alloyed by ambition, he identified his personal interests with the prosperity of the cause he had espoused, and preserved inviolable his faith to those he had

Digitized by Google

taken under his protection. In visiting France, he resolved to resist the blandishments of the Guises, and to conciliate the affections of his sister. Although familiar with the world, he uniformly retained a certain idiomatic plainness of language and manners, which sometimes serves the statesman more effectually than even the fair professions of the courtier. It was during her progress from Rheims to Nancy, that the prior had his first interview with Mary, who, though she had just received a communication from the Catholics, to caution her against his promises or professions, not only decided to adopt his counsels, but was evidently inclined to commit herself to his guidance. Disgusted with the artifices of the French court, she found in his bluntness something that inspired confidence; and with that facility by which, in after life, she was often precipitated into danger, indulged the belief that she should find in him not merely an able adviser, but an affectionate brother. On his part, it was impossible but that he should have been gratified by his reception, till, on taking leave, he asked for the earldom of Murray, which the Queen declined promising until she should return to Scotland; this refusal, probably, excited in his mind some distrust of her sincerity, and, on his return, he took the pre-

Digitized by Google

caution to visit Elizabeth, with whom he is supposed to have entered into conditional engagements, incompatible with the loyalty he had lately pledged to his own sovereign.*

On parting from her brother, Mary was seduced to momentary forgetfulness of political cares, by the honours with which she was received at Nancy, into which she made a public entry, conducted by the young Duke, and his mother the Duchess-dowager Christina; at the palace, she was greeted by her sister-in-law, the youthful Claude, who consoled herself for her removal to a country in which many vestiges of barbarism were still visible, by drawing around her a circle of fair companions, whose elegance and beauty recalled the image of her father's court, and almost created another Fontainebleau. As, at this period, neither her consort nor herself were sufficiently mature to be emancipated from tutelage, the Duchess-

* According to Camden, and other historians, he suggested to Elizabeth the scheme of intercepting his sister on her passage to Scotland. To this obliquity, if true, he might have been tempted by the hope of securing to his party the protection of that Queen, and also to satisfy the ministers of the Evangile, who, previously to his departure, required he should extort from Mary the renunciation of *the idol;* to which he replied, "I will "condition all I can; but I may not prevent her hearing "mass in her own chamber."

Digitized by Google

dowager and the Duke de Vaudemont maintained precedency in the council, leaving to the youthful pair the more amiable sovereignty of pleasure. Day after day they issued edicts for amusement, in which hunting and hawking, music and dancing, masquing, and enacting plays, succeeded with a rapidity that scarcely allowed time to repair the waste of nature.* The tumultuous gaiety of these scenes could have been little congenial to Mary's feelings, even had the state of her health allowed her to partake of them; but an attack of ague, a malady at that time extremely prevalent in France and Germany, compelled her to exchange the brilliant spectacles of Nancy for the more salubrious, though unattractive, retirement of Joinville. This town, situated on the river Marne, formed the capital of a petty district, which, in 1530, had been created into a principality, in favour of the house of Guise; its chief ornament was the ancient château, in the chapel of which Antoinetta of Bourbon had raised a superb monument, wrought of porphyry and jasper, which was dedicated to the memory of her departed lord. In that venerable mansion, an interval of ten years had produced no perceptible change; it still preserved the same solemn aspect which per-

* See Conæus in Jebb. — Lesley in Jebb.

Digitized by Google

vaded it during the last visit of Mary of Guise. Proud to display and to perpetuate the emblems of her grief, Antoinetta suffered not the black hangings to be removed from the chambers, nor was her own sable veil discarded. The austere gravity of the aged princess, and the profound reverence she received from her attendants, gave to every object around her, the sombre character of funereal pageantry; no gaieties were here exhibited; the most innocent recreations were scarcely allowable. Absorbed in religious zeal, this princess, even in lavishing kindness on her grand-daughter, cordially approved of her departure, believing, that by her presence she might reclaim her subjects from rebellious heresy. Such sanctified demeanour was rather calculated to inspire reverence than love, and Mary was, perhaps, not unwilling to quit this almost sacred retreat for the more congenial hospitality of her aunt Rénée, the abbess of Rheims, an elegant and cultivated woman, whose luxurious apartments disclaimed all conventual austerity, and who lavished on her niece attentions, that in part consoled her for the mortification of assisting at the sacre of Charles the Ninth.* At that solemnity appeared Mary, in all

* June 25. 1561.

Digitized by Google

the state and pomp of widowed royalty; but distinguished from the Queen-dowager by the white mourning allotted to youthful dowagers; her dark tresses* were concealed under a long crape veil, which floated loosely on her shoulders, and, according to Brantome, was not so delicate as the tint of her pallid cheeks.

To this spectacle also came Christina, the Duchess-dowager of Lorrain, whom Catherine de Medicis designated as the proudest of women, and the young Duke and Duchess the most virtuous and only happy members of the house of Valois.

In her first re-union with the court, Mary was received by the nobility with profound respect, and by Catherine with affected caresses; but in the younger princes and nobility she inspired such lively emotions of interest and admiration, as revived the Queen-mother's jealousy, and redoubled the impatience with which she anticipated her departure. It was impossible not to perceive that Mary's charms were heightened, and that, abstracted by her recent afflictions from Guisian intrigue, she possessed a personal influence truly formidable. Exonerated

* Her hair is called black by Nicholas White, who saw her in England in 1572.

Digitized by Google

from the etiquette, which, whilst Francis lived, opposed a barrier to the approaches of the other sex, it was no longer forbidden to avow sentiments warmer than loyalty, and even to address her in language more impassioned than admiration. The charms of her conversation, her graceful address, her captivating accomplishments, had raised the *woman* above the *Queen;* and, to complete those powers of fascination, Mary, herself, was become susceptible of feelings to which she had hitherto, probably, remained a stranger. A sudden reverse of fortune, by discovering the hollowness of the ordinary courtier, taught her to discern and to appreciate those proofs of disinterested regard which she had lately experienced. Naturally disposed to munificence, she found, to her surprise, she was become tributary to kindness and sympathy, which it was not humiliating to repay with gratitude and confidence; even the sense of obligation awakened emotions of tenderness more pleasing than painful. The latent capacities of her heart and understanding were now unfolded, and the bitterness of mortification softened by the consciousness of possessing, in herself, a power of dispensing happiness, independent of her royal sceptre.

Digitized by Google

From Rheims, Mary proceeded to Paris; into which she made a public entry, far different from that which she had once anticipated, but more flattering to female sensibility than any formal homage that could have been rendered to the crowned consort of the sovereign. With the exception of the young Monarch, all the princes of the blood, with a brilliant company of cavaliers, met her at the gates of St. Denis, and followed in her train to the Louvre. The next day she was conducted to St. Germains, where she soon observed, that a complete change had taken place in the language of the court; which now, in compliment to the King of Navarre, affected unbounded liberality for the Hugonots. Catherine herself, though not daring to forsake the mass, or positively to attend a Calvinistic conventicle, permitted a sort of religious assembly in her apartment, where polemical discussion took place of sentimental trifling, and the Bishop of Valence was allowed to preach a sermon; in which, to the horror of Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador, he omitted any invocation of the Saints or the Virgin. Neither the Duke of Guise nor his niece chose to be present at these discourses; and the old Constable Montmorency was so much offended by the deviations from

Digitized by Google

established usage, that he was once tempted to throw the preacher from the great window. It had been prudent in Mary so far to surmount her prejudices as to be one of the Bishop's auditors; but, in this instance, her resolution was immutable; her sincerity inspired respect; and in a conversation with Throckmorton, she frankly declared, that as she had been bred a Catholic, she hoped to die in that communion.

"To be plain with you," said she, "the "religion which I profess I take to be the "most acceptable to God; and, indeed, nei- "ther do I know, or desire to know, any "other. Constancy becometh all people well, "and none better than Princes, and such as "have rule over realms, and specially in "matters of religion. I have been brought "up in this religion, and who might credit "me in any thing, if I should shew myself "light in this case? and though I be young, "and not well learned, yet have I heard this "matter oft disputed by mine uncle, my Lord "Cardinal, and I found therein no great rea- "son to change my opinion."

After this protestation, she conceded to Throckmorton that many abuses had crept into the church, which called for reform; but added,

Digitized by Google

" I am none of those that will change my " religion every year; and, as I told you in " the beginning, I mean to constrain none of " my subjects, but would wish that they were " all as I am; and, I trust, they should have " no support to constrain me."

Whilst Mary declined polemical controversy, she resumed her classical pursuits, which had lately been suspended, and devoted two or three hours of every morning to the perusal of a Latin author, with the learned Buchanan. At her leisure, she was encircled by Ronsard and du Bellay, and other fashionable bards, who not only cultivated her fine taste, but stimulated her to the exercise of a native talent for metrical composition.

According to Brantome, Mary had facility in producing extempore verses, illustrating some idea happily struck out in conversation. She sometimes wrote poems of a higher cast, which breathed of taste and feeling, and were even tinctured with a certain classical elegance, rarely equalled in any contemporary female productions; to this class belongs the well-known poem composed on the death of Francis, *En mon triste et doux chant.* * If

* Translated by Whitaker. See the original French at the end of this volume.

Digitized by Google

Mary drew attention as a poet, as a minstrel she was captivating; her voice was melodious, and she never appeared to more advantage than when she touched the lute, with a hand, which, if her admirers may be credited*, presented a model to the sculptor; the susceptibility of her character imparted a touching expression to her countenance, which would have excited interest even without that symmetry of feature and form, by which she is allowed to have been distinguished: added to these powerful attractions, the pity inspired by her sorrows, the vicissitudes of her romantic fortune, the difficulties of her situation, the perilous prospects before her, all conspired to engage sympathy, to kindle enthusiasm, almost to compel affection. The nobility crowded round her; and parties were formed, and spectacles presented†, of which she appeared to be the only object. Among the younger cavaliers, were some in whom the homage of gallantry assumed the character of serious passion. The most ardent of those admirers was Henry Duke de Damville, the second son of the Constable Montmorency, who had two years before espoused the grand-daughter of Diana

* Varillas. — Brantome. — Mezerai.

† Lesley in Jebb.

Digitized by Google

de Poictiers. Intoxicated with juvenile enthusiasm, or rather, perhaps, with those ebullitions of vanity for which it is not unfrequently mistaken, Damville* hovered round the Queen of Scots, nor allowed a single day to pass without enjoying her presence; but, however he might be flattered by her smiles†, he must have been mortified to discover how little he had the power to dispel the melancholy and abstraction that, in the most brilliant scenes, often clouded her countenance; when, forgetting all but her own sad thoughts, she unconsciously gave utterance to the bitter regrets, "or fatal presentiments that oppressed her "heart, and with tears trickling down her "cheeks, shuddered at the picture that fancy

* Du Thou.

† It has been pretended, that Mary sympathized in his feelings, and that she protested she would have espoused him had he been at liberty: but this anecdote, which is unsupported by any respectable testimony, has, perhaps, no better foundation than some complimentary remark, which policy, rather than affection, might have dictated. With regard to Damville's passion, it appears not to have troubled his tranquillity, nor to have prevented his pursuing other conquests. This nobleman was notoriously an unfaithful husband, and a fickle lover. On the death of Antoinetta de la Marck his wife, he espoused Louisa Budos, the most beautiful woman in Dauphiny, but whose charms corrected not his inconstancy. After her demise, he be-

Digitized by Google

created."* The Duke d'Aumale, and Great Prior, by whom she was really beloved, urged her to remain in France; and there were moments when Mary recoiled with indescribable horror, from the idea of living in Scotland, — where her religion was insulted, and her sex contemned; where her mother had languished in misery. and her father sunk into an untimely grave. But from these impressions she was recalled by pride, dignity, ambition, the persuasions of the Duke of Guise, and the exhortations of Cardinal Lorrain, who, hopeless of rendering her marriage a profitable speculation whilst she remained in France, became importunate for her return to Scotland, and, to accelerate her departure, obtained from Catherine a loan, which was highly acceptable. The next preliminary was to obtain from Elizabeth a safe conduct; which that Queen, in the presence of the Spanish

---

came passionately attached to her aunt Laurentia, with whom he contracted marriage, without waiting for a Papal dispensation; an irregularity, on which, when he was tired of his wife, he grounded his hopes of annulling the engagement. Disappointed in this expectation, he revenged himself on his virtuous consort by shutting her up in a château, from which she was not liberated till after his death, in 1581. — Laboureur.

* Brantome.

Digitized by Google

ambassador, refused, alleging that Mary had never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh.* On receiving this communication, the keen sensibility of Mary's temper burst forth; and in an interview with Throckmorton, after having been careful to dismiss her attendants, (a delicacy omitted by Elizabeth,) she thus gave vent to her feelings: —

"There is nothing," she continued, "that "doth more grieve me than that I did so for- "get myself, as to require of the Queen, "your mistress, that favour which I had no "need to ask; — I needed no more to have "made her privy to my journey, than she doth "me of hers. I may pass well enough into "mine own realm, I think, without her pass- "port or licence; for, though the late King, "your master, used all the impeachment he "could, both to stay me, and catch me, "when I came hither, yet, know, Monsieur "l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely; and I "may have as good means to help me home "again, as I had to come hither, if I would "employ my friends.† Truly," said she, "I "was far from evil meaning to the Queen, "your mistress, at this time to employ her "amity to stand me instead than all the friends "I have; and yet, you know, both in this

* Cabala. † Ibid.

Digitized by Google

" realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and " allies, and such as would be glad and willing " to employ both their forces and aid. You " have often told me, that the amity between " the Queen, your mistress, and me, were " very necessary and profitable to us both. I " have some reason, now, to think that the " Queen, your mistress, is not of that mind; " for, I am sure, if she were, she would not " have received me thus unkindly. It seems," added she, reproachfully, " she makes more " account of the amity of my disobedient sub- " jects, than of me their sovereign, who am her " equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom " and experience, her nearest kinswoman, and " her next neighbour. The Queen, your mis- " tress, doth say that I am young, and lack " experience; but I have age enough and ex- " perience, to use myself towards my friends " and kinsfolk uprightly; and, I trust, my " discretion shall not fail me, that my pas- " sions shall move me to use other language " than it becomes me to a Queen, and kins- " woman."

After this burst of feeling, she excused herself from ratifying the treaty till she should be able to consult with her parliament; that when she assumed the arms of England, she acted in obedience to the late King, her husband;

Digitized by Google

and that she wished for nothing so much as to live in amity with the Queen of England. Artificial, as was this pretext, it appeared not unplausible; and might, perhaps, have satisfied Elizabeth, but for the suspicion industriously excited, that Mary tampered with her Catholic subjects.

In a subsequent conversation with Throckmorton, Mary again forgetting, or rather, perhaps, not having yet learnt the politician, from a sudden impulse of the heart, thus expressed her secret forebodings: —

"If my preparations were not so far advanced, perhaps the unkindness of your mistress might stay my passage; but now I am resolved, I trust the winds shall prove favorable; but even if I should be carried into her kingdom, she may do with me according to her pleasure; and if my life be the sacrifice, it shall, perhaps, for me, be the happier fate."

In this short speech, we discover that mixture of melancholy, and dignity, of womanly softness, and youthful desperation, that pervaded her character. Her feelings were afterwards embodied in the elegant little song *

* For the following elegant paraphrase of *Adieu, plaisant pays de France,* the author must again acknowledge her obligations to the young female friend before mentioned.

Digitized by Google

of "*Adieu, plaisant pays de France,*" deservedly admired by Ronsard, and every reader of taste, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

On the eve of their eternal separation, Catherine's hostility to her daughter-in-law seemed subdued; and lavish of her courteous attentions, she attended her the first stage of her journey from Paris to St. Germain, — where, thirteen years before, she had welcomed the infant Queen of Scots to France, and where now, with a profusion of tears, she bade the widowed Queen of France adieu! Anne of Este gave a more unequivocal proof of attach-

---

Adieu, plaisant pays de France.

Farewell to thee, thou pleasant shore,
The lov'd, the cherish'd home to me
Of infant joy — a dream that's o'er; —
Farewell! dear France, farewell to thee.

The sail that wafts me, bears away
From thee but half my soul alone;
Its fellow half will fondly stay,
And back to thee has faithful flown.

I trust it to thy gentle care;
For all that here remains with me
Lives but to think of all that's *there*,
To love, and to remember thee.

The original French of the poem will be found at the end of the volume.

Digitized by Google

ment, by accompanying her niece to the coast, as did the Duke and his five brothers; and so numerous were the noble dames and cavaliers, who followed in her train, that this mournful pilgrimage wore the appearance of a bridal triumph. At Calais, Mary lingered six days only; but the solemn farewell was at length pronounced, — the last glance exchanged with the friends so dearly loved. "Habitually superstitious, in embarking for "the royal galley, Mary was appalled by the "mournful spectacle of a vessel striking "against the pier, and sinking to rise no "more; overwhelmed with the sight, the "unhappy queen exclaimed, 'O God! what "fatal omen is this for a voyage!' then rush-"ing towards the stern, she knelt down, and "covering her face, sobbed aloud, 'Fare-"well! France, farewell! I shall never, never "see thee more!' Repeatedly she raised her "eyes to steal another, and another glance of "that shore she had for ever left, and often "sobbed aloud, 'Adieu! France, adieu!' * "In this attitude she remained, till the ap-"proach of night compelled her to change "her station; when she exclaimed, with im-"passioned emotion, 'The hour is then "arrived, when I must lose sight of thee, thou

* Brantome.

Digitized by Google

" dearest country; a dark veil conceals thee " from my eyes. Adieu, then, most beloved " land, adieu!'" With these words, she quitted her seat, but could not be persuaded to leave the deck; and at the dawn of day, again caught a glimpse of Calais, with such renewed anguish, as even to express a frantic hope, that the appearance of an English fleet might suspend her voyage: but, at this moment, the breeze freshened, the sails were unfurled, — within an hour, every vestige of France had vanished from her exploring eyes; of the pomps and gaieties, in which she had borne so large a part, nothing remained but a vexatious, troubled dream. The voyage was not unprosperous; and in after-life, she, perhaps, recollected, with peculiar tenderness, that brief interval of ten days, during which she was still permitted to enjoy the courtesies, the blandishments, the sympathies of a French circle; when, for the last time, she found herself surrounded with friends and kinsmen, to whom, as a Queen, and a woman, she was equally endeared; who held sacred her faith, participated in her tastes, sympathized in her weaknesses, and spontaneously echoed her sentiments. Soothed by their attentions, her grief subsided into a

Digitized by Google

tender melancholy, never wholly unaccompanied by feelings of complacency; and on being shewn certain perilous shoals, which the vessel had escaped, she observed, "that for "the sake of her friends, and for the common "weal of Scotland, she ought to rejoice; but "that for herself, she should have esteemed "it a privilege so to end her course."*

* Brantome.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

KNOX. — HIS INFLUENCE. — HIS PREJUDICES AGAINST MARY. — HIS DESCRIPTION OF HER RECEPTION. — SKETCHES OF HER MINISTERS. — THE LORD JAMES MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON. — THE EARL OF MORTON. — THE EARL OF HUNTLY. — THE ENGLISH RESIDENT RANDOLPH. — ESTABLISHMENT OF MARY'S HOUSEHOLD. — HER MUNIFICENCE. — EXTRACTS FROM RANDOLPH'S LETTERS, COMMUNICATING VARIOUS SKETCHES OF HER COURT.

WHILST Mary unwillingly approached her native country, there was one individual, by whom her arrival was deprecated as the precursor of peril, crimes, and calamities. This was no other than Knox, the formidable champion of the Reformation, whose "*single* "*voice could put more life* into a host, than "*six hundred blustering* trumpets," * — the man whom no bribes could tempt, no penalties intimidate, no trials overcome; who scorned alike the smiles or frowns of princes; equally insensible to the privations of poverty, the allurements of fortune, or the witcheries of beauty. From the memorable hour in

* Randolph in Keith.

Digitized by Google

which Knox embraced a spiritual vocation in the Castle of St. Andrews, he had consecrated life and all its faculties to the accomplishment of one object, the abolition of the *mass* and of *Papistry* in Scotland.

For this enterprize he was eminently fitted by a rare combination of physical and moral qualities; born to command, he possessed not merely the courage and energy common to all brave and resolute men: with stoical inflexibility he united intense zeal and almost delirious enthusiasm; yet paradoxically discovered a keen insight into human nature, and a felicitous talent of directing human passions. But his real strength resided in a certain directness of purpose, an inflexible determination of will, aided by the popular persuasion, in which he fully participated, that he acted and even spoke from the impulse of divine inspiration.

With no higher title than that of Minister of the Evangile, Knox exercised over the congregations of Scotland a more than papal supremacy. He spoke as a prophet, and as a prophet was heard with reverence: his denunciations were received as predictions, his solemn words treasured in remembrance as the oracles of Providence. Yet, though deeply tinctured with fanaticism, he was, in reality, an admir-

Digitized by Google

able judge of human character, as appears from his having chosen the Prior of St. Andrews, a man eminently prudent and persevering, to be the chief of the Reforming Party; on him he had cast his sacred mantle, and imparted with it a large portion of his own personal influence. It has been even suspected that he wished to transfer to him the kingly power, but of this we have no proof. Still less that he himself aspired to the sceptre of Scotland. It was as an apostle, or rather as a prophet, that Knox challenged homage. In his own conceptions he was alternately the Elijah rebuking Ahab — the Jeremiah denouncing Israel — the John the Baptist, who could overawe even the presumptuous Herod. Woe to the man who incurred his wrath, or fell under his chastisement! Unhappy they who became the object of his antipathy or suspicion! In this predicament was Mary Stuart! Whatever prejudice he had originally conceived against a daughter of Guise, was confirmed, and justified, by the administration of her uncles. Educated under their auspices, imbued with their principles, he regarded her as infected with their cruelty and perfidy — as a Papist, incapable of any moral virtue — as an idolater worse than an infidel. If she would subdue his prejudice, she must disclaim her

Digitized by Google

superstitions, renounce the mass, forsake the idol — on no other condition could he be persuaded that she was entitled to esteem and confidence. It is notorious that Knox had hoped, through the agency of Murray, to impose those articles on Mary previous to her return to Scotland. But Murray temporized, and Mary was to be allowed the exercise of her own worship, in a private chapel: the religion of the country to continue as established by the Convention of Edinburgh.

With these concessions Knox was not to be satisfied: he foresaw the consequences that must result from the influence of the Sovereign: he anticipated apostacy and perversion in lukewarm and mercenary men; and solemnly pledged himself, by whatever means he possessed, to resist that idolatrous Sovereign, whom he gratuitously invested with all the vices and corruptions incident to Papistry.

For this purpose he began to administer antidotes to the poison which Mary was to distil with her honied words, by launching invectives against the Idol, and exciting hatred of its priests. To a certain point he succeeded. The people execrated the priests, but certain old and hereditary associations resisted his insinuations against the sovereign: the image

Digitized by Google

of royalty, gracefully realized in a young and beautiful woman, the last scion of Bruce, the descendant of a hundred kings, awakened sentiments of pride and attachment. During her voyage, fervent were the prayers breathed for her safety, and on her arrival, according to the confession of Knox himself, unbounded was the enthusiasm with which her presence was hailed by her native country.

" On the 19th day of August, 1561, be-
" twixt seven and eight hours before noon, ar-
" rived Mary, Queen of Scotland (then widow)
" in two gallies out of France. In her com-
" pany, besides her gentlewomen, called the
" Maries, were her uncles, the Duke d'Au-
" male, the Grand Prior, the Marquis d'El-
" bœuf; there accompanied her also, d'Am-
" ville, son to the Constable of France, with
" other gentlemen of inferior condition, be-
" side servants and officers. The very face
" of the heavens at the time of her arrival did
" manifestly speak what comfort was brought
" into this country with her: to wit, sorrow,
" dolour, darkness, and all impiety; for in
" the memory of man that day of the year
" was never seen a more dolorous face of
" the heavens, than was at her arrival, which
" two days after did so continue; for, besides
" the surface wet, and the corruption of the

Digitized by Google

" air, the mist was so thick and dark that " scarce could any man espy another the " length of two pair of butts. The sun was " not seen to shine two days before nor " two days after. That fore-warning, gave " God to us — but alas! the most part were " blind.

" At the sound of the cannon which the " gallies shot, happy was he or she that first " must have the presence of the Queen. The " Protestants were not the slowest, and there- " in they were not to be blamed. Because " the Palace of Holyrood-House was not tho- " roughly put in order, for her coming was " more sudden than many looked for, she " remained in Leith till towards the evening " and then repaired thither. In the way be- " twixt Leith and the abbey, met her the re- " bels and crafts of men of whom we spoke of " before, to wit, those that had violated the " acts of the magistrates, and had besieged " the provost. But because she was suffi- " ciently instructed that all they did was " done in spite of their religion, they were " easily pardoned. Fires of joy were set " forth at night, and a company of most " honest men with instruments of music, and " with musicians, gave their salutations at her " chamber window; the melody, as she al-

Digitized by Google

" leged, liked her well, and she willed the
" same to be continued some nights, after
" with great diligence.* The lords repaired
" to her from all quarters, and so was nothing
" understood but mirth and quietness, till the
" next Sunday, which was the 24th of August,
" when that preparation began to be made
" for that idol the mass, to be said in the cha-
" pel; which perceived, the most of all the
" godly began to speak openly: ' Shall that
" idol be suffered again to take place within
" this realm? It shall not.' The Lord
" Lindsay (then but Master) with the gentle-
" men of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the
" close or yard, ' The idolatrous priests shall
" die the death, according to God's law.'
" One that carried in the candle was evil
" afraid. But then began flesh and blood to
" show itself. There durst no Papist, neither
" yet any that came out of France whisper,
" but the Lord James, the man whom all the
" godly did most reverence, took upon him to
" keep the chapel door. His best excuse
" was, that he would stop all Scottish men to
" enter into the mass. But it was and is suffi-
" ciently known, that the door was kept, that
" none should have entry to trouble the priest,

* Brantome very pathetically laments the annoyance of this *vile music*, which robbed the Queen of repose.

Digitized by Google

" who, after the mass was ended, was com-
" mitted to the protection of the Lord John
" of Coldingham and Lord Robert of ———,
" who then were both Protestants, and had
" communicated at the table of the Lord;
" betwixt them both the priest was conveyed
" to his chamber."

The prevention of outrage seems to have been deplored by the preacher, when he adds—

" And so the godly departed with grief of
" heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the
" abbey in great companies, and gave plain
" significations that they could not abide that
" the land, which God by his power had
" purged from idolatry, should in their eyes
" be polluted again, and so began complaint
" upon complaint. The old duntebors and
" others, that had long served in the court,
" and hoped to have no remission of sins but
" by virtue of the mass, cried, they would
" away to France without delay—they could
" not live without the mass; the same af-
" firmed the Queen's uncle: and, would to
" God, that altogether, with the mass, they
" had taken good night of the realm for
" ever."

By a remarkable coincidence, Mary landed almost on the anniversary of that day on which

Digitized by Google

she had heard in the great Council of Fontainbleau, the toleration of the Calvinists so ably defended by Admiral Coligny; she was now in a country where the same arguments might be applied to the Catholics, who were here denied that liberty of worship which in France had been withheld from the Protestant sectaries. This reflection, which might have led to the conclusion, that there was more apparent than real disparity in the civilization of France and Scotland, was little consolatory to a youthful sovereign, who had hitherto been accustomed to associate the name of heresy with the crimes of treason and rebellion; still less to a woman, possessing all the susceptibility of her sex, who had hitherto been taught to believe that she inspired only sentiments of affection, and who now was, for the first time, regarded with distrust or aversion. To conciliate her subjects, she had exchanged the white crape, which at the French Court procured her the appellation of the "Reine Blanche," for a sable suit, which gave to her aspect a more sedate and matronly character; and even Knox confesses, that, "under the widow's weed, she could counterfeit "to perfection." These were, however, not unfavorable to the display of her beauty, which

Digitized by Google

excited general admiration. Her manners were still more captivating: whether she rode, or danced, or walked, spoke or remained in silence, the same grace pervaded her looks, her language, and her movements.

Among the nobility by whom she was welcomed, Mary cordially recognized, as her nearest relatives, the illegitimate offspring of James the Fifth. Exclusive of the Lord James, whose mother had become the wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, the late King had one daughter and two sons, by different mistresses: the Lord John of Coldingham, and the Lord Robert of Strathdon, had been bred to the church and enriched with its patrimony, but, in common with their brother, the Prior of St. Andrew's, had since seceded to the reformers; — they were men of ordinary talents, addicted to pleasure, and willing by flattery to purchase preferment. To their sister, Jean, married to the Earl of Argyle, Mary became tenderly attached, and often sought to mitigate the hardships she experienced from an unkind, imperious husband.

From her other relatives Mary derived little comfort. The Earl of Lennox and his family still remained in exile; the Duke of Chatelherault was declining into dotage, and since

Digitized by Google

the death of his brother, the Abbot of Pasley, no Hamilton had arisen to sustain the dignity of his house.

The Earl of Arran, so long an object of suspicion to Mary and her uncles in France, was here equally fated to inspire her aversion. In his childhood, it will be recollected, this nobleman had been formally contracted to the Queen of Scots. After his return from France, he wooed, in a singular style, Queen Elizabeth *, by whom his suit was civilly rejected.

He now resumed his original claim on Mary, who repulsed him with more disdain than she ever shewed for any other lover. In the Lord James alone did she discover a kinsman worthy to offer counsel or capable of lending her protection, and to him she willingly surrendered the administration of public

* The following curious specimen of courtship is extracted from the State Papers:

Earl of Arran to Secretary Cecil.

" These things when I call to remembrance, who can " say but God has framed her, Elizabeth, in the shape " of a woman, to excel any of her progenitors, and that " he of his infinite wisdom will show what he is able to " work to the manifestation of his glory, in such a *vessel* " and *kind* as hath from the first been reputed fullest of " imperfections, compared unto man."

Haynes' *State Papers.*

Digitized by Google

affairs, and even the superintendence of her own conduct.

As a statesman unrivalled by his compatriots, the Lord James had long formed a rallying point for all the men of talents and distinction attached to his party. Of these, the first was Secretary Maitland, whose venerable father, Sir Richard, after having possessed the confidence of several successive administrations, had lately been appointed one of the Lords of Session, and assumed the title of Lord of Lethington.

In exploring the chart of history, it is not often that the enquirer lights on any interesting and individual portraits, and still more rarely does he discover in the successful statesman those virtues that embellish and dignify domestic life. In the character of Sir Richard Maitland, we have, however, one of those rare examples of wisdom, simplicity, and benevolence, which ennoble the human species, and almost atone for the sufferings and privations incident to human destiny. By the care of his father, he had been sent to the Continent for education, and after having studied in France, returned to Scotland, where he pursued the profession of an advocate with unremitted diligence and irreproachable integrity. Although he never attached himself to the French faction, he

Digitized by Google

was admitted, under the regency of Mary of Guise, to a share in the administration, and what is remarkable, even in that perilous season of contention, he secured the esteem of both the belligerent parties. From the children of such a father, something more than the ordinary attainments of the scholar were to be expected, and in reality, the house of Sir Richard Maitland was, to his three sons and four daughters, an academy, in which they acquired, or rather spontaneously imbibed a degree of taste and refinement, of urbanity and even of elegance, of which Scotland afforded, perhaps, no other example. Previous to the deposition of Mary of Guise, Sir Richard had become blind, a calamity that compelled him almost wholly to withdraw from public life, and to seek solace and occupation in the bosom of his family; but even his amusements were directed to some noble or useful object. Till this late period, he had never found leisure to exercise his native talent for metrical composition; but he now began not only to write, but with indefatigable assiduity to collect the national songs of Scotland *, which must otherwise have been con-

* Those MS. collections, which Sir Richard began in 1556, fill three folio volumes, and are deposited in the University of Cambridge. It is not improbable that the

Digitized by Google

signed to oblivion. In this patriotic task, he was aided by his unmarried daughter, who was also a votary of the muses, and to whose pen he assigned the pleasing labor of transcribing a poem, in which he welcomed the Queen to her native kingdom. Of his three sons, all were eminently distinguished; but the elder and the younger were eclipsed by William, whose transcendent talents have thrown a partial shade over the other members of his family. Although, like his father, he had been caressed by the Queen-dowager, he hesitated not to range himself with the Reformers, and their chief, the Prior of St. Andrew's. In his domestic habits no less irreproachable than that favored disciple of Knox, he possessed those more elegant attainments and polished manners which his compeer disdained to cultivate; the charms of his society, his wit and sparkling intelligence, afforded ample compensation for the homeliness of his features; and such were the graces even of his ordinary

---

encouragement which was thus given to metrical compositions incited the efforts of succeeding poets. Montgomerie and Drummond were long posterior to Sir Richard Maitland.

Digitized by Google

conversation, that he was not only the most able, but most captivating statesman of his age.

After Maitland, came the Earl of Morton, another partizan of the Lord James, who, if he possessed not the exquisite talents of Maitland, supplied their place by the vigour of a self-cultivated mind, whose versatile powers had been exercised in adversity, and were enriched with practical experience. This nobleman was the nephew of that Earl of Angus, whom James the Fifth had banished from Scotland. During the minority of Mary, the Douglasses, who were notoriously attached to the English interest, had been successively recalled and expelled; and, during his exile, the present Earl, with no higher title than the name of Douglas, lived in England in obscurity, and even accepted the humble occupation of Grieve *, to relieve his daily necessities.

On returning to his native country, he applied the knowledge thus painfully acquired to the improvement of his own patrimony. By degrees his situation became prosperous, and uniting latitude of morals with the utmost strictness of sectarian principles, he managed,

* Bailiff or overseer, superintending the estates, leases, &c. See Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Angus and Morton.

Digitized by Google

without abandoning his pleasures, to become the disciple of Knox, and the bosom friend of the Lord James.

Among other noblemen of minor importance devoted to the Reformation, was the Earl Marischal, a man of unblemished reputation; the Lord Ochiltree, who worshipped Knox; and above all, if honor and integrity were permitted to confer supreme distinction, the Earl of Mar, the most virtuous statesman of the age. In this nobleman we recognize the same John Erskine, who had been one of the curators of Mary's infancy, and was at that time devoted to the clerical profession. On the death of his two elder brothers, having obtained a dispensation from his vows, he espoused Annabel Murray, of Tullibardin, afterwards celebrated as the accomplished governess of James the First. Although the Lord Erskine had been among the first to embrace the doctrines of Knox, he never could be induced to take arms against the Regency, whom he admitted into the castle of Edinburgh, and who actually breathed his last under his honourable protection. For the kindness which he had then manifested towards that ill-fated Princess, her daughter never ceased to feel, and to evince sincere gratitude; and in spite of his heretical principles, the Lord Erskine became one of her most esteemed

Digitized by Google

counsellors. After the Lord Erskine * may be mentioned the Earl Glencairn, the zealous champion of Knox, the Earl Cassils, who was no less devoted to the Catholic faith, the Earls Ruthven and Lindsay, of whom it will suffice to say, that they were fierce fanatics; lastly, James Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, a Protestant, but devoted to the French faction, and, what was worse, a bold intriguing courtier, whose prodigality had exhausted his large hereditary possessions, and who, under the mask of boisterous gaiety, concealed a daring spirit, and insatiable ambition. Of the Catholics, the most important was the Chancellor, the Earl of Huntley, the chief of the House of Gordon, who had signalized his valour in the wars with England, and his devotion to the House of Stuart, in all its conflicts with the nobility or the congregation: but although zealous for his religion, he temporized with the leading party, and abstained from going to mass in Edinburgh, where Knox had established a despotic empire.

On the 28th of August, 1561, Mary made her public entry into Edinburgh, and was

* The year after Lord Erskine was created Earl of Mar, a dignity which had been formerly enjoyed by his family.

Digitized by Google

hailed with every demonstration of loyalty by her subjects. Over her head was suspended a canopy of black and crimson, borne by twelve young men, habited in black velvet *, the sons of superior citizens, who gloried in their office. She smiled on all as she passed, with that grace peculiar to herself, and which persuaded every beholder that he was the particularly distinguished individual. But under a cheerful aspect she concealed an anxious heart; the prejudices, and even the superstitions of education had taught her to distrust the honor and loyalty of heretics, and she long continued to believe that by poison or some envenomed spell †, she should be devoted to a lingering death. Sensation baffles reason—but those terrors which neither the arguments of Lord James, nor the eloquence of Lethington could dispel, were insensibly mitigated by time and experience, and Mary saw with pleasure her uncles and the Duke de Damville invited, on the following Sunday, to a civic banquet: with so little puritanical strictness was the Sabbath then

* Keith, page 189.

† See in chapter the fifth, Lord Ruthven's excuse for presenting her with a ring. A few hours before her death, Mary bequeathed to Henry the Third, king of France, as a valuable bequest, two precious rings, for preserving life and health.

Digitized by Google

observed in Scotland, and so much more difficult is it to supersede the habits than to change the opinions of mankind.

It was to Mary a painful task to endure the presence of Knox, whom she knew only as the Goliah of impiety, who had subverted the ancient faith, and incited subjects to rebellion; who reviled women, more especially such as had the misfortune to be queens; and was, throughout, an object of abhorrence. Of the zeal and success with which he had attacked vice and immorality, and of the effects which he had actually produced in society, by exacting from the higher and lower classes, the same reverence for moral and religious duty *, she knew nothing; she knew only, that his mind was perverted by fanaticism and intolerance. At the suggestion of her brother, however, she determined to see this formidable adversary, whom she, perhaps, hoped to win by her sweetness and condescension.

An account of their interview, as detailed by himself, offers a curious illustration of his character, and explains in what predicament

* After the example of Calvin, Knox had established a rigorous kirk-censorship, by virtue of which, men and women of the first rank were publicly subjected to penance for notorious offences.

Digitized by Google

Mary was placed with her puritanical subjects. On his entrance, he found with the Queen only her brother, the Lord James, who remained silent; whilst she reproached him with the work in which he had inveighed against the government of women, — the Preacher replied:

" Learned men, in all ages, have had their " judgments free, and most commonly dis- " agreeing from the common jndgment of the " world; such also have they published both " with pen and tongue, notwithstanding they " themselves have lived in the common society " with others, and have borne patiently with " the errors and imperfections which they " could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, " wrote his book of the Commonwealth, in " the which he condemns many things that " were maintained in the world, and required " many things to have been reformed; and " yet, notwithstanding, he lived under such " politics as then were universally received, " without further troubling any state; even so, " Madam, am I content to do, in uprightness " of heart, and with the testimony of a good " conscience I have communicated my judg- " ment to the world. If the realm find no " inconvenience in the regimen of a woman, " that which they approve shall I not farther

Digitized by Google

" disallow them within my own breast, but " shall be as well content, and shall live under " your Majesty as Paul was to live under " the Roman Emperor; and my hope is, " that so long as you defile not your hands " with the blood of the saints of God, that " neither I nor that book shall either hurt " you or your authority; for in very deed, " Madam, that book was written most es- " pecially against wicked Mary of Eng- " land."

" But you speak of women in general?"

" Most true it is, Madam; and yet plainly " appeareth to me, that wisdom should per- " suade your Majesty never to raise trouble " for that which this day hath not troubled " your Majesty, neither in person nor in anxi- " ety. For of late years, many things which " before were holden stable, have been called " in doubt; yea, they have been plainly im- " pugned: but yet, Madam, I am assured, " that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be " able to prove that any such question was " at any time moved in public, or in private. " Even, Madam, if I had intended to trouble " your estate, because you are a woman, I " might have chosen a time more convenient " for that purpose than I could do now,

Digitized by Google

" when your own presence is within the " realm."

Having replied to the first charge, Knox reminded the Queen that he had resided in England and other countries, without having incurred the charge of sedition; and with regard to another imputation of his enemies, that he practised necromancy, he appealed to all who had ever heard him preach, whether he did not resist and condemn the impiety.

With this explanation, Mary appears to have been satisfied; but she reminded him that by his arguments her subjects were incited to sedition. " You have," said she, " brought the " people to receive another religion than their " princes can allow — and how can that doc- " trine be of God, seeing that God command- " eth subjects to obey their princes?"

" Madam, as right religion took neither ori- " ginal nor integrity from worldly princes, but " from the eternal God alone, so are not sub- " jects bound to frame their religion accord- " ing to the appetite of their princes. If all " the seed of Abraham should have been of " the religion of Pharaoh, what religion should " there have been in the world? Or if all " men in the days of the Roman emperors, " should have been of the religion of the Ro- " man emperors, what religion should have

Digitized by Google

" been on the face of the earth? Daniel and " his fellows were subject to Nebuchadnezzar, " and unto Darius, and yet they would not be " of their religion."

To this argument Mary having replied, that none of these had raised *the sword* against their princes, Knox, with his usual shrewdness, rejoined: —

" Yet, Madam, ye cannot deny but that they " resisted; for those that obey not the com- " mandments given, in some sort resist."

" But yet," reiterated the Queen, " they " resisted not by the sword."

" God, Madam, had not given them the " power and the means."

" Think you that subjects, having the " power, may resist their princes?"

" If princes do exceed their bounds, Ma- " dam, or do against that wherefore they should " be obeyed, there is no doubt they may be " resisted, even by power; for there is neither " greater honor nor greater obedience to be " given to kings and princes than to father " and mother; but so it is, that the father may " be stricken with a phrenzy, in the which he " will slay his own children; now, Madam, if " the children arise, apprehend the father, " take the sword or other weapon from him, " and finally bind his hands, and keep him in

Digitized by Google

" prison till his phrenzy be overpast, think ye, " Madam, that the children do any wrong?"

At the mention of a prison, Mary seemed petrified; and as Knox was celebrated for uttering oracular sentences, those words, and the emotion they produced, were afterwards attributed to preternatural inspiration. At the close of their conversation, the Reformer pressed the Queen to hear the controverted points argued in her presence; and, on taking leave, civilly wished she might be blessed by Scotland, even as *Deborah* had been in *Israel.*

With the exception of Knox, whose practice was consistent with his principles, Mary found not, among the fanatics of the day, much that savoured of ascetic self-denial. The habits of the young nobility were idle and luxurious; addicted to hawking, hunting, and drinking, they surrendered themselves to sensual gratification, and found it more easy to renounce the mass, and abuse the Papists, than to practise temperance, justice, and charity. Even the favourite of Knox, the Lord James, gave Mary no rigid lessons of economy; nor were any limits imposed on her profusion in the establishment of her household. The people beheld with satisfaction the magnificence of the court, which the young Queen and her ladies invested with the attractions of elegance and

Digitized by Google

beauty. Of the four Maries, the most distinguished was the lovely Fleming, who was fated to inspire in the enlightened Maitland a serious passion, and in the sequel became his devoted wife; Mary Livingston engaged the affections of William, the eldest son of Lord Semple; Mary Beaton, the daughter of Lord Crichie, though affianced by her father before she left France, remained unmarried, as did Mary Seaton. Exclusive of these playmates of her childhood, the Queen took under her protection a circle of younger girls, including the junior sisters of the two *Maries*, Beaton and Livingston *; there was also a young French lady, called Mademoiselle de Pinguillon, to whom the Queen was extremely partial, but who, not relishing Scotland, eagerly returned to France. Of Mrs. Craig and Mrs. Brian, two other ladies belonging to the household, nothing is known but that, like the *Maries*,

* An embroiderer and tapestry maker were attached to their service: for each lady were provided a man and woman servant. At the breakfasts and collations were allotted two dishes to each individual of the higher order. At each meal, wine was served with profusion, and in the hall and the Queen's chamber there was a daily consumption of thirty gallons. *Menu de la Maison de la Royne, fait par Monsieur Pinguillon.* — For the curious reader will be found an extract from this book, at the end of the volume; also the catalogue of the Queen's library.

Digitized by Google

they were entitled to the honor of dining and supping in the Queen's chamber.

Mary had brought from France many valuables besides her jewels, and by her care the walls of Holyrood were embellished with tapestry, far different from that exhibited at the espousals of James and Margaret; but she brought a more tasteful offering to her country in a little sycamore plant, which was transplanted to the garden, and in time (though Mary was not destined to witness its progress) expanded to a fair and stately tree *, which, if tradition may be credited, has been the parent stem of all those beautiful groves, so often celebrated in Scottish song.

It was creditable to Mary's feelings that she relished the simple amusement of gardening, and delighted in the scenes of nature; but, if (as Brantome has described her) she was feelingly alive to the enjoyment of intellectual society, she had reason to repine under the privations she experienced. She here found no Ronsard, no du Bellay to foster her talents or cultivate her taste; no elegant literature softened the asperity of polemical disputation. The scholastic Buchannan† was the only na-

* This venerable tree was in existence till about four years ago, when it was blown down, its wood formed into trinkets, and sold as precious relics.

† Sir Richard Maitland should, perhaps, be excepted; but he rather collected poetry than produced it.

Digitized by Google

tive poet who visited her palace, and even he, on leaving France, appears to have renounced the muses.

It was, perhaps, policy that led Mary to cultivate the society of Thomas Randolph, the English Resident, who, through the medium of Cecil, transmitted to Elizabeth regular and minute details of Mary and her Court. Randolph possessed a lively pen, and although evidently devoted to Murray and his party, his letters are not unworthy of attention; and as they furnish information not to be derived from any other source, a few extracts, commencing from the period of Mary's arrival in Scotland, are submitted to the reader:

*To Secretary Cecil.**

September, 1561.

" Knox spoke upon Tuesday to the Queen, " he knocked so hastily upon her heart that " he made her to weep; as well you know, " there be some of that sex that will do that " as well for anger as for grief. Though in " this the Lord James will disagree with me: " she charged him with his book; with his " severe dealing with all men that disagreed

* In Keith, page 188.

Digitized by Google

" with him in opinion; she willed him to use
" more meekness in his sermons; some things
" he spoke to her contentation, in mitigating
" the rigour of his book, and in some things
" he pleased her very little. In (special)
" speaking against the mass, he declared the
" grievous plagues of God, that had fallen up-
" on all estates for committing idolatry. He
" concluded in the end with her, that he hath
" liberty to speak freely his conscience, to give
" unto her such reverence as becometh the
" ministers of God, unto the superior powers.
" He prayed, and doth daily pray for her, as
" the preachers were wont to pray for Queen
" Mary, &c.

" The rumour that he hath talked with the
" Queen, maketh the Papists doubt what will
" become of the world; it liketh not them
" well that I resort so often to the court; I
" have been there thrice since Sunday; but,
" of all they marvel most, what traffic the
" Lord of Lethington maketh with you.* She,
" herself, hath found three points necessary
" to maintain her estate: first, to make peace
" with England; next, to be served by the

* Maitland was in England, labouring, with more zeal than policy, to extort a public acknowledgement from Elizabeth of Mary's presumptive claim to the crown of England.

Digitized by Google

" Protestants (in the other party, she findeth " not that which she looked for); the third is, " to enrich her crown with the abbey lands, " which if she do, what shall there lack in her " (saving a good husband) to lead a happy " life?

" On Tuesday last she made her entry; " she dined in the castle; the first sight she " saw, after she came out of the castle, was " a boy of six years of age, that came as " it were from heaven out of a round hole, " that presented unto her a Bible, a psalter, " and the keys of the gates, and spoke unto " her the verses which I send you. The " rest were terrible significations of the ven- " geance of God upon idolaters — they were " burnt — Cora, Dathan, and Abiram — in the " time of their sacrifices — they were minded " to have had a priest burnt at the altar, at " the elevation." *

In the first progress that Mary took through the country, she perceived similar indications of fanaticism.

* See Keith, p. 190. copied from MSS. in the Cotton Library.

Digitized by Google

Randolph to Cecil.

" *September 24th.*

" On Sunday was eight days, her Grace's " devout chaplains in the Chapel Royal would, " by the good device of her trusty servant, " Alexander Areskine, have sung a high " mass. The Earl of Argyle and the Lord " James so disturbed the quire, that some, " both priests and clerks, left their places with " broken heads and bloody ears; others were " there, that shed a tear or two, and made no " more of the matter. The by-gone night, at " the Earl of Rothes, (I know not whether it " be spoken in truth or malice), but, it is said, " he lost both plate and something else, that " was easy to be conveyed; but, it is very " true, that in those places where they have " been, saving in this town, they have paid " little for their meat. * At St. Johston's she " was well received, and presented with a " heart of gold, full of gold; she liked not " the pageantry there, they did too plainly " condemn the errors of the world. As she " rode through the street she fell sick, and " was borne from her horse into her lodging;

* It will be recollected, that a similar charge was brought against the court of Henry the Eighth.

Digitized by Google

" with such sudden passions, I hear, she is
" often troubled, after any great unkindness
" or grief of mind. At St. Andrew's she was
" upon Sunday, from whence I have not as
" yet heard; but that I judge to be a lie, that
" there was a priest slain this day.

" On Sunday next, Mr. Knox declareth the
" duty of all kinds of magistrates, in a good
" reformed Commonwealth. He hath re-
" ceived your letter, sent by the Laird of
" Lethington, and meaneth shortly to answer
" it.* It is suspected, that the Lord James
" seeketh too much his own advancement;
" which hitherto little appeareth, for any
" thing that he ever received worth a groat.
" It is thought that Lethington is too politic;
" and take me these two out of Scotland, and
" those that love their country shall soon find
" the want of them."

Alarmed at the turbulence manifested by either party, Mary more than ever became desirous to cultivate the friendship of the English resident, and consented, at his solicitation, to read an oration of Beza, on the subject of transubstantiation; and although she still refused to discuss the subject, Randolph affected to believe that her conversion might

* A proof that Cecil communicated with the chief of the malcontents in Scotland.

Digitized by Google

be accomplished by the personal interposition of Elizabeth; an interview with the two Queens was therefore proposed, and earnestly recommended.

Randolph to Cecil.

" *October 24th.*

" The next day, I was sent for to the coun-
" cil-chamber, where she herself sitteth the
" most part of the time, sewing some work
" or other. She saith unto me thus—
" 'These three days, I have done nothing
" else but devise with my council, how to
" daunton on the thieves and robbers upon
" the borders.' "

The council being dissolved *, she walked with Randolph in the garden, and thus began to question him:—" How like you this country " —you have been in it a good space, and know " it well enough?" " My answer," continues Randolph, " was, that the country was good, " and the polity might be made much better." " The absence," said she, " of a prince " hath caused it to be worse — but yet, " is it not like unto England?" I answered,

* It appears, that at those sittings six lords were always present, and that they deliberated six hours every day.

Digitized by Google

"That there were many in the world, worse "than her Grace's, that were thought right "good, but I judged few better than Eng- "land; which, I trusted, that some time "after, her Grace should witness." "I would "be content therewith," said she, "if my "sister, your mistress, so liked." I said, "That it was the thing that many of her "Grace's subjects did desire, and, as I judged, "would also well content my mistress." Of this purpose we had long talk. Many honorable words she spake of the Queen's Majesty. She remembered her mother's passage through England, and commended the reception that her uncle, the Grand Prior, and Monsieur Villemont, had at Berwick.

After some official details, Randolph continues: —

"I receive of her Grace, at all times, very "good words. I am borne in hand by such "as are nearest about her, as the Lord James "and the Laird of Lethington: that they are "meant as they are spoken of, I see them "above all others in credit, and find in them "no alteration; though there be that com- "plain, they yield too much to her appetite, "which I see not. The Lord James dealeth "according to his nature, rudely, homely,

Digitized by Google

" and bluntly; the Laird of Lethington more
" delicately and finely, yet nothing swerving
" from the other in mind and effect. — She is
" patient to hear, and beareth much. The
" Earl Marischal is wary, but speaketh some-
" times to good purpose; — his daughter is
" lately come to this town: — we look shortly
" for what shall become of the long love be-
" twixt the Lord James and that lady. The
" Lord John of Coldingham hath not least
" favour, with his leaping and dancing; — he
" is like to marry the Lord Bothwell's sister.
" The Lord Robert consumeth with love of
" the Earl Cassil's sister; — the Earl Bothwell
" hath given unto him old lands of his father,
" in Teviotdale, and the Abbey of Melross.
" The Duke's Grace* is come to Kinneil, and
" proposes not to come near to the Court, ex-
" cept that he be sent for. I hear of nothing
" that is proposed against him; it is thought
" that he may be well enough spared. My
" Lord Arran proposeth not to be at court so
" long as the mass remaineth: there come
" few to it, but herself, her uncle and train.
" Three causes, I perceive there are, that
" makes my Lord of Arran to absent himself:
" the one is the mass; the other, the presence
" of his enemy; the third, lack wherewith to

* Chatelherault.

Digitized by Google

" maintain a court. By the first, he main-
" tains his credit with the precise Protestants;
" the other argues less courage in him than
" many men thought, that his enemy is yet
" alive to have that place which he is unwor-
" thy of; the third manifests the beastliness
" of his father, that more than money, hath
" neither faith nor God. The lords now be-
" gin to return to the court, the bishops flock
" apace; the Metropolitan of St. Andrew's
" arrived here on Monday last, with eighty
" horses in train, and to be seen he rode half-
" a-mile out of his way through the High-
" street of Edinburgh; — we know not yet
" what mischief he and his associates come
" for: he had with him only two Hamiltons."

Randolph concludes his letter by saying: —

" Mr. Knox cannot be otherwise persuaded
" but many men are deceived in this *woman*;
" he feareth yet *posteriora erunt pejora*
" *primis*; his severity keepeth us in marvel-
" lous order.* I commend better the suc-
" cess of his doings and preachings, than the
" manner thereof, though I acknowledge his
" doctrine to be sound. His prayer is daily
" for her, that God will turn her obstinate

* Knox had lately imposed public penance on the Lord Treasurer of the Queen's houshold, for an illicit intrigue.

Digitized by Google

" *heart* against God and his truth; — or, if " the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen " the hearts and hands of his chosen and elect, " stoutly to withstand the rage of *all tyrants:* " and in words terrible enough."

*Randolph to Cecil.**

" *November*, 1561.

" The absence of the Duke's Grace from " this court causeth here such rumours among " the people of his misliking of the Queen's " proceedings, with somewhat else that they " unadvisedly reported, that was meant to- " wards him, that he was advised by his " friends to repair into this town, and by his " presence make void all such vain talk as " was here in many men's mouths. Upon " Tuesday last he came into this town; upon " Wednesday he saw the Queen, and was well " received, and as he confessed to me, no " manner of occasion offered by the Queen " of misliking; since that time he hath been " daily in court and council. He doubts that " the Queen intends to take from him Dum- " barton, and so thinketh himself void of all " place of succour: 'For,' saith he, 'when-

* Keith, p. 201. from MSS. in Cotton Library.

Digitized by Google

" ever she hath that out of my hands, I " know that her mind towards me and my " house cannot be good. I will, therefore, " assure myself by all means to keep that, " which I shall not be able to do unless your " mistress at that time stand a gracious Prin- " cess, who hath promised me by letters, never " to see me or my house wrecked.' Though " I knew that he doubteth more than he " hath occasion, yet would in no manner of " way condemn his purpose, nor thought it " good to discourse him of the Queen's favor, " so long as he perseveres in the maintenance " of God's truth, obedience to his sovereign, " and affection towards my mistress.

" I enquired of him, what right he had to " have that place, or pretence to refuse the " delivery if it were demanded: he answered " that his right was none, but that he took " it from the Earl of Lennox; but that he had " a promise made to him by mouth by this " Queen's mother to have it in a farm for " nineteen years. My Lord of Arran re- " maineth at St. Andrew's*: he knoweth not " himself, and I cannot conjecture what he " means by his abode there: he wrote of " late to the council, that he might be assured " of the revenues of St. Andrew's, Dumfer-

* Not long after this, Lord Arran became insane.

Digitized by Google

" line, and Melross, by the Queen's authority,
" as they had put him in possession; adding
" this clause, that otherwise he would com-
" plain to his brethren, who from the be-
" ginning had been of the congregation.
" This manner of doing was found very
" strange; his bill was rejected.

" It is now called in question whether that
" the Princess, being an idolater, may be
" obeyed in all civil and politic actions." *

" I think marvellously of the wisdom of
" God," says Randolph, "that gave this unruly,
" inconstant, and cumbersome people no more
" power and substance than they have, for
" then would they run wild. Now they ima-
" gine that the Lord James groweth cold;
" that he aspireth to great matters; he is now
" lieutenant upon the borders, commander,
" that is, sole minion, of the Queen, like
" shortly to be Earl of Murray, and Treasurer
" of Scotland. Lethington ambitious and too
" full of policy; so there is no remedy, say
" they; it must yet come to a new day. To
" the contrary of this I persuade by all means
" that I can with such as I may most assur-
" edly have to do, and in my conscience they
" are in the wrong to the Lord James, and
" whenever Lethington is taken out of this

* See Knox.

Digitized by Google

" place they shall not find among themselves
" so fit a man to serve in this realm."

As an additional proof of popular fanaticism, Randolph mentions, " that the Queen having " ordered mass to be sung, one of the priests " was well beaten for his reward, by a servant " of the Lord Robert's. We look to have it " proclaimed again, that no man under pain " of confiscation, hear, say, or come unto her " own mass, saving her household that came " out of France. The ministers shall have " their livings appointed by her authority."

" Of the Catholics," he says, " they know " not yet for all their mass, what they may " well think of her: they say the Lord James " beareth too much rule; Lethington hath a " crafty head, and fell tongue; the worst that " they like is, the accord that they hear is " like to be between the Queen's Majesty and " this Queen; if that be, they think them- " selves quite overthrown; they say plainly, " that she cannot then return a true Christian " woman; and before God, neither I nor the " Lord of Lethington can be persuaded that " she will give over her mass till she hath " spoken with the Queen's Majesty."

The arrival of the French ambassador de Foix produced many speculations, and Randolph shrewdly remarks: " Out of the coun-

Digitized by Google

" tenances of princes, he that is able to judge,
" may pick out great likelihoods of their
" thoughts, or find how they are disposed.
" The time of her talk with Monsieur de Foix
" it was marked by others, before I came in,
" (and after, I saw myself,) many alterations
" in her face: her colour better that day than
" ever I saw it; when I talked with her she
" was very merry, and spake with much af-
" fection, as I think came from the heart."

" During Lent, she observed the old man-
" ner in all her doings; she could not persuade
" one lord of her own to wear the *deuil* for
" that day, not so much as the Earl Bothwell."

The arrival of Monsieur Moret, in whose suit came the celebrated David Rizio, was equally a subject of speculation to the diplomatist, who enquires, with pretended interest, whether he came to Scotland to propose a marriage between the Queen and the Duke de Nemours; his curiosity is, however, unsatisfied, and all that he learns is, *that* when any purpose falleth in of *homage*, she saith, '*she* '*will have none other husband than the Queen* '*of England.*'

After the perusal of these extracts, it will not appear extraordinary that, as Melvil describes her, Mary should have been subject to fits of melancholy when she was not under the influence

Digitized by Google

of strong excitement; or that she should have sought the society of foreigners, with an avidity that offended her jealous countrymen; neither is it surprising, that when the more irksome duties of the day were over, she should have been tempted to prolong the dance or concert long beyond the hour that Knox and prudence would have prescribed. In this manner, habits of self-indulgence must inevitably have been acquired, which she had hereafter cause to lament. With quick parts and ardent feelings, Mary carried on great and momentous occasions energy, courage, and endurance, but she possessed not the solid judgment and political sagacity by which her mother had been eminently distinguished; and although she cherished a high idea of the royal prerogative, frankly surrendered her authority to friends or favourites, of whom accident rather than reason determined the choice. Hitherto she had acquiesced in Murray's supremacy, but they sympathised little in sentiment; and though unequal to the cares of government, she sighed to establish her sovereignty and reclaim her independence. It was an engaging feature in Mary's character, that she never forgot a friend, or overlooked a service; but in a monarch, kindness sometimes becomes prodigality, and gratitude

Digitized by Google

injustice: accustomed to the magnificent profusion of the French court, she despised economy, and was notorious in lavishing on a Mary Livingston, or a David Rizio, the money that might have purchased respect even from her disaffected subjects. *

* The Queen gave certain lands to John Semple on his marriage with Mary Livingston, which were afterwards reclaimed. She bestowed, also, the revenue of an abbey on George Buchanan.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

MARY UNDER MURRAY'S TUTELAGE. — VARIOUS SPECULATIONS ON HER MARRIAGE. — RESTORATION OF THE EARL OF LENNOX. — ARRIVAL OF DARNLEY, AND PROGRESS OF HIS SUIT. — OPPOSITION FROM MURRAY AND ELIZABETH. — MARRIAGE OF DARNLEY AND MARY.

It was not long before Mary fulfilled every promise she had made to her brother, by bestowing on him the earldom of Murray, including certain lands belonging to the crown. He continued to be her minister, or, as he was called, her minion: in reality, the sovereign of Scotland.* But whilst the Earl governed the Queen, he was himself held in subjection to Knox, who, on his marriage with the Lady Agnes Keith, publicly admonished him of the duties which he owed to religion and his country; adding, that if he should hereafter be found lukewarm in the great cause, it would be said his wife had changed his nature. Murray was, however, far from participating in the intolerant zeal of his monitor, and in conjunc-

* To Mary's honour, the appointment of three days in the Sessions-house, for gratuitously attending to poorer clients, was of her own suggestion. — Keith.

Digitized by Google

tion with Lethington, than whom no Jesuit was more dexterous in controversy, laboured to reconcile Knox to the necessity of allowing the Queen to worship God according to the dictates of conscience: the Preacher persisted in demanding that the idol should be taken from her — and though, finally, the question was submitted to Calvin, continued in his sermons to satirize the Queen's levity and hypocrisy;—her taste for dancing and fiddling excited his abhorrence; and, in one instance, he inveighed against those abominations with such peculiar acrimony, that Mary was unwisely persuaded to summon him to her presence. But, instead of apologizing for his offence, he coolly replied, "Madam, this is "oftentimes the just recompence which God "gives the stubborn of the world, that be-"cause they will not hear God speaking to "the comfort of the penitent, they are oft "compelled to hear the false reports of others, "to their great displeasure. Madam, if the "reporters of my words had been honest "men, they would have reported my words, "and the circumstances of the same: but, "because they would have credit in Court, "and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they "must have somewhat to please your Majesty, "if it were but flattery and lies; but such

Digitized by Google

" pleasure (if any your Majesty take in such " persons) will turn to your everlasting dis- " pleasure; for, Madam, if your own ears had " heard the whole matter that I treated, if " there be in you one spark of the Spirit of " God, yea, of honesty and wisdom, you " would not justly have been offended with " any thing that I spake." In proof of his words he recited the discourse to confute the reporters, and was dismissed rather with a compliment than a reproach.

On quitting the palace, Knox heard some one exclaim, " He is not afraid!" " And " what," said he, " should there be to afray " me, in the pleasing face of a gentlewoman? " I have met many angry men, and yet was " never afraid."

It falls not within the scope of this work to enter into the political history of Scotland, or the details of Murray's administration; it is, therefore, not necessary to describe the commotions in the north, followed by the Earl of Huntly's insurrection and death. To the minister * belonged exclusively that transaction,

* According to the statement of Keith, p. 229. Huntly had lately been deprived of lands which were given to Murray, as having originally belonged to the earldom of Murray. Huntly was a zealous Catholic, mutual antipathy subsisted between them: the former, who was

Digitized by Google

in which the Queen had no other share, than that she most unwillingly sanctioned his behests against several noble Catholics; and, finally, at Aberdeen witnessed with anguish, the execution of Sir John Gordon, the Earl's son, by whom she was passionately adored. It may be remarked of this ill-fated youth, that of all who felt or affected to feel the power of Mary's charms, he only appears to have cherished for her a sincere attachment. It was suspected, that the Queen was not insensible to his merits*; but by precipitately quitting the prison to which he had been committed, in consequence of an unfortunate duel, he compelled his sovereign Mistress to affect great rigour; and she even forbade him her presence. At this crisis, Mary was conducted by Murray on a progress to the north of Scotland, where the Gordons were all powerful, and held many castles in their possession. The Earl of Huntly, who had hitherto submitted indignantly to Murray's ad-

---

powerful and ambitious, appears to have believed that the Queen might be persuaded to marry his son, Sir John Gordon; Murray took advantage of his presumption to prejudice the Queen against him; Huntly took up arms rather against Murray than the Queen, and perished at the fight of Corrichie. See also Chalmers, quarto edit. vol. i. p. 79.

* See Gordon's History of the House of Gordon.

Digitized by Google

ministration, refused to deliver those strongholds into his hands. The Earl, in the Queen's name, persisted in demanding that they should be surrendered to her possession; whilst Huntly, who believed that she sighed to be liberated from her brother's usurpation, collected his vassals,—was joined by his son's followers,—and finally defeated and slain at Corrichie. For Sir John Gordon was reserved a harder fate; his opposition to Murray was ostensibly rebellion *; and Mary, whatever might be her private sentiments, had so little the power to soften his sentence, that she was not even permitted to decline seeing it executed. To Gordon it perhaps afforded some gratification, that his parting look was hers, and his last sigh breathed in her presence. It was pretended by his enemies, that he had confessed his father's meditated treasons: but the circumstance is improbable; and it is certain, that Mary dissembled not the sorrow she suffered for his death, and that it created some coldness and distrust between her and Murray. But other cares forced her attention from this painful subject; the state of France, now distracted with civil

* It will be recollected, that during the minority of James the Fifth, that sovereign was constrained to march against a loyal subject. It appears not, however, that Mary favoured Huntly, but she certainly wished to spare his family.

Digitized by Google

warfare, created in her the most lively inquietude. In one of those revolutions incident to a Court, the Constable Montmorency had coalesced with his antient foes, the Princes of Lorrain, and his son, the Duke de Damville, was seen fighting under the same standard. But scarcely had Mary exulted in this intelligence, than her satisfaction was damped by the fatal tidings, that her two beloved kinsmen, the Grand Prior and the Duke of Guise, had perished *; the former in the battle of Dreux, the latter by the hands of the fanatical Poltrot. In common with all her family, the Queen of Scots ascribed the murder of her uncle to the instigation of Admiral Coligny, who in vain demanded to be confronted with his accuser. The House of Guise and its partizans adhered to their prejudice—and even the venerable Antoinetta quitted her castle at Joinville, to lead the family procession, which paraded the streets of Paris, imploring justice! Deeply affected with these domestic calamities, Mary felt herself outraged by the rigors which were exercised towards her Catholic subjects, several of whom had revived the antient worship, and consequently incurred severe penalties;

* The son of the Duke of Guise cruelly revenged his father's death on the supposed murderer, at the fatal marriage of Henry of Navarre. — Laboureur.

Digitized by Google

" I offered unto you presence and audience
" whensoever it pleased you to admonish
" mee; and yet I cannot be quit of you; I
" vow to God I shall be once revenged:' and
" with these words scarce could Marnocke, one
" of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her
" eyes dry; for the teares and the howling, be-
" sides womanly weeping, stayed her speech.

" The said John," he adds, " did patiently
" abide all this fume, and at opportunitie an-
" swered; 'True it is, Madame, your Ma-
" jesty and I have beene at divers contro-
" versies, into the which I never perceived
" your Majesty to be offended at me; but
" when it shall please God to deliver you
" from that bondage of darknesse and errour
" wherein ye have been nourished for the
" lack of true doctrine, your Majesty will
" finde the liberty of my tongue nothing
" offensive; without the preaching place, I
" thinke few have occasion to be offended at
" me; and there I am not master myselfe,
" but must obey Him who commands me to
" speak plaine, and to flatter no flesh upon
" the face of the earth.'

" 'But what have you to do,' said she,
" with my marriage?' "

Without deigning to notice this question, Knox went on methodically to answer:

Digitized by Google

" ' If it please your Majesty patiently to hear
" me, I shall shew the truth in plain words.
" I grant your Majesty offered unto mee
" more than ever I required, but my answer
" was then as it is now, That God hath not
" sent me to awaite upon the courts of
" Princes, or upon the chamber of ladies, but
" I am sent to preach the Evangell of Jesus
" Christ to such as please to hear; it hath
" two points, Repentance and Faith: Now,
" in preaching repentance, of necessity it is
" that the sinnes of men be noted, that they
" may know wherein they offend. But so it
" is, that most part of your nobilitie are so
" much addicted to your affections, that nei-
" ther God's Word, nor yet their Common-
" wealth, are rightly regarded; and, therefore
" it becometh me to speak that they may
" know their duty.'

" ' What have you to do,' reiterated the
" Queen, ' with my marriage, or what are you
" within the Commonwealth?'

" ' A subject, borne within the same, Ma-
" dame; and albeit I bee neither earle, lord,
" nor baron, within it, yet hath God made
" me, (how abject that ever I bee in your
" eyes) a profitable and a usefull member
" within the same; yea, Madame, to me it
" appertaineth no less to forewarn of such

Digitized by Google

" things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, then " it doeth to any one of the nobility; for both " my vocation and office craveth plainnesse " of me: and therefore, Madame, to your- " selfe I say that which I spake in publike: " Whensoever the nobility of this realme " shall be content, and consent that you be " subject to an unlawful husband, they doe " as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, " to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of " this realme, and perchance shall, in the end, " doe small comfort to yourselfe.'

" At these words," the cynic continues, " howling was heard, and teares might have " been seene in greater abundance than the " matter required: John Erskine, of Dun, " a man of meeke and gentle spirit, stood be- " side, and did what he could to mitigate the " anger, and gave unto her many pleasant " words of her beauty, of her excellency, and " how that all the Princes in Europe would " be glad to seek her favours; but all that was " to cast oil into the flaming fire.

" No such mitigation, however, was offered " by Knox, who stood still, without any alter- " ation of countenance, and in the end said, " 'Madame, in God's presence I speak, I never " delighted in the weeping of any of God's " creatures, yea, I can scarcely well abide the

Digitized by Google

" teares of mine own boys, when mine own
" hands correct them; much less can I re-
" joice in your Majestie's weeping; but seeing
" I have offered unto you no just occasion to
" be offended, but have spoken the truth, as
" my vocation craves of me: I must sustaine
" your Majestie's teares rather than I dare
" hurt my conscience, or betray the Common-
" wealth by silence.' Herewith was the
" Queen more offended, and commanded the
" said John to passe forth of the cabinet, and
" to abide further of her pleasure in the
" chamber.

" But in that chamber, where he stood as
" one whom men had never seene, (except
" that the Lord Ochiltree bare him company,)
" the confidence of Knox did not forsake
" him; and, therefore, began he to make dis-
" course with the ladies, who were there sit-
" ting in all their gorgeous apparel; which,
" when he espied, he merrily said, ' Fair
" ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours,
" if it should ever abide! and then in the
" end that wee might passe to Heaven with
" this geare: but fie upon that knave, Death,
" that will come whether we will or not;
" and when he hath laid on the arrest, then
" foule wormes will bee busie with this flesh,
" be it never so faire and so tender: and

Digitized by Google

" the silly soule, I feare, shall be so feeble, " that it can neither carry with it gold, gar- " nishing, targating, pearl, nor precious " stones.' " The ladies listened with complacency, and, perhaps, had not been often so well entertained. Such a being as Knox was not to be awed by a court; and Mary, had she been wise, would never have attacked the man whom she could not subdue; above all, she ought to have known, that woman's tears, when they move not pity, excite contempt.

After reiterated failures, she was weak enough to make another effort to intimidate; to which she was, however, tempted by the belief that in issuing circular letters to convene, upon a certain day, the members of the different congregations in Edinburgh, Knox had exceeded the limits even of his *evangelical* privilege; but, on being formally arraigned before the members of her council, he not only vindicated his conduct, but, even in the Queen's presence, extorted from her Lords a confession, that, according to law, he had committed no offence against her.

After this triumph, Knox celebrated his marriage with Margaret Stuart, the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a young lady who had scarcely completed her twentieth year. By

Digitized by Google

what spells or charms this austere personage, who never ceased to revile and vilify the female sex, could have created in a youthful bosom such tender interest, is left to conjecture — but the nuptials were solemnized with the entire approbation of her parents, who gloried in their affinity to the intrepid Reformer.

Happy had it been for Mary Stuart, to have shown equal discrimination in the election of a consort! It had indeed been urged by Knox and others, that no choice ought to be allowed her, and that it was rather for the states to give the Queen a husband, than for the Queen to impose a sovereign on the people.

Nor was it to the states alone that Mary had to refer her election; on the part of England, Elizabeth protested against a foreign potentate — the Puritans deprecated a Papist — the Pope and other Catholic princes interdicted a Protestant alliance, against which her own prejudices operated more strongly even than their imperative veto. But for that fatal obstacle, what should have impeded a marriage treaty with the Prince de Condé, now a widower; or one of the numerous German Princes, unencumbered with territory, who would have gloried in her alliance? But Mary, who was secretly devoted to the interests of her church, still cherished the delu-

Digitized by Google

sive hope, that her subjects might be reclaimed to the faith of their fathers. Averse by nature to cruelty, and instructed by the fatal example she had witnessed in France, she was little likely, under any circumstances, to recur to sanguinary persecution; but she obviously was ready to employ seduction, or any other means, to accomplish the desired object, the source of all her present and subsequent perplexities. On the subject of marriage, too, she was embarrassed by her views on the English sceptre; and her desire to be declared the presumptive heiress of Elizabeth, to whom she offered, on that condition, to submit her choice. During three years it formed the basis of correspondence between the two Queens, in whom their respective ministers laboured to cultivate a cordial friendship.* The real object of Lethington and certain English ministers, appears to have been to make the succession to the English crown contingent on the conversion of Mary from Popery, and on that condition to procure her union with a Protestant consort. Unfortunately, their Sovereigns entered not sincerely

* It has been pretended, that Cecil was originally averse to the union of the two kingdoms; but this was probably owing to his repugnance to the Queen of Scots and her Catholic tenets.

Digitized by Google

into these sentiments; Mary as little intended to renounce her religion, as Elizabeth to nominate her successor. In the progress of the negociation, the Queen of England proposed to Mary to espouse the Earl of Leicester. Randolph relates the manner in which the proposal was received, in a letter describing his visit to St. Andrews, and which affords an agreeable picture of Mary's domestic life.*

" Her grace lodged in a merchant's house; " her train was very few; and there was small " repair from any part. Her will was, that, " for the time that I did tarry, I should dine " and sup with her. Your Majesty was often- " times dranken unto by her, at dinners and " suppers. Having in this sort continued " with her Grace Sunday, Monday, and Tues- " day, I thought it time to take occasion to " utter that which last I received in command " from your Majesty, by Mr. Secretary's let- " ter; which was to know her Grace's reso- " lution, touching those matters propounded " at Berwick, by my Lord of Bedford and " me, to my Lord of Murray, and Lord of " Liddington; I had no sooner spoken these

* For this agreeable letter, copied from the Paper Office, the public are indebted to Mr. Chalmers.

Digitized by Google

" words, but she saith, ' I see now well, that
" you are weary of this company and treat-
" ment: I sent for you to be merry, and to
" see how like a Bourgeois wife I live, with
" my little troop, and you will interrupt our
" pastime with your great and grave mat-
" ters; I pray you, Sir, if you be weary
" here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep
" your gravity and great embassade until the
" Queen come thither; for I assure you,
" you shall not get her here, nor I know
" not myself where she is become; you see
" neither cloth of estate, nor such appear-
" ance that you may think there is a Queen
" here; nor I would not that you should
" think that I am she at St. Andrews, that I
" was at Edinburgh.' "

" I said, that I was very sorry for that,
" for that at Edinburgh she said, that she
" did love my mistress, the Queen's Majesty,
" better than any other, and now I marvelled
" how her mind was altered. It pleased her
" at this to be very merry, and called me by
" more names than were given me in my
" christening. At these merry conceits much
" good sport were made. ' But well, Sir,'
" saith she, ' that which then I spoke in words
" shall be confirmed to my good sister, your
" mistress, in writing; before you go out of

Digitized by Google

" this town you shall have a letter unto her, and " for yourself, go where you will, I care no " more for you.' The next day I was willed " to be at my ordinary table, being placed the " next person (saving worthy Beaton *) to the " Queen's self.

" Very merrily she passeth her time: after " dinner she rideth abroad. It pleased her " the most part of the time to talk with me; " she had occasion to speak much of France, " for the honor she received there; to be " wife unto a great king, and for friendship " shewn unto her in particular, by many, for " which occasions she is bound to love the " nation, to shew them pleasure, and to do " them good.

" Her acquaintance is not so forgotten " there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, " but yet it is divers ways sought to be conti- " nued. She hath of her people, many well " affected that way, for the nourriture that " they have had there, and the commodity of " service, as those of the guard, and men at " arms; besides, privileges great for the mer- " chants, more than ever were granted to any " nation. What privately, of long time, hath " been sought, and yet is, for myself to yield

* Mary Beaton, who, from her infancy had been a maid of honor. She was the niece of Cardinal Beaton.

Digitized by Google

" unto their desires in my marriage, her
" Majesty cannot be ignorant, and you have
" heard. To have such friends, and see such
" offers (without assurance of as good), no-
" body will give me advice that loveth me.
" Not to marry, you know, it cannot be for
" me; to defer it long, many incommodities
" ensue. How privy to my mind, your mis-
" tress hath been herein; how willing I am
" to follow her advice, I have shewn many
" times, and yet, can I find in her no resolu-
" tion, nor determination. For nothing, I
" cannot be bound unto her; and to France,
" my will against her. I have lately given
" assurance to my brother of Murray and
" Liddington, that I am loath, and so do now
" shew unto yourself, if your mistress did, as
" she hath said, use me as her natural-born
" sister or daughter, I will shew no less rea-
" diness to oblige and honor her than my
" elder sister or mother; but, if she will repute
" me always but as her neighbour, Queen of
" Scots, how willing soever I be to live in
" amity, and to maintain peace; yet, must
" she not look for that at my hands, that
" otherwise I would, or she desireth. To
" forsake friendship offered, and present com-
" modity, for uncertainty, no friend will ad-
" vise me, nor your mistress herself approve

Digitized by Google

" my wisdom. Let her, therefore, measure
" my case as her own, and so will I be to her.
" For these causes, until my sister and I have
" further proceeded, I must apply my mind
" to the advice of those, that seem to tender
" most my profit, that shew their care over
" me, and wish me most good." *

During these matrimonial negociations, Mary had not overlooked the eligibility of her cousin, Lord Darnley; whose father the Earl of Lennox, it will be recollected, after his rejection by Mary of Guise, went to England, and received from Henry the Eighth the hand of his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas †, who, after Mary herself, was the next presumptive heir to the crown of England. To consolidate these claims to the English succession, by an union with Darnley, appeared not even to Cardinal Lorrain a contemptible speculation; Lethington patronized, nor could Morton ‡, who was his kinsman, be averse to

* For this letter, of which the original remains in the Paper Office, the public are indebted to Mr. Chalmers. See his Life of Mary, quarto edition.

† It will be recollected, that the father of this Lady Douglas, Earl of Angus, after his divorce from Queen Margaret, tyrannized over James the Fifth, in his minority.

‡ James, Earl of Morton, was the son of Sir George Douglas, brother to the Earl of Angus.

Digitized by Google

the scheme; but to Murray, the proposal appears to have been highly displeasing; and Randolph, suddenly discovering in Mary a thousand faults, thus echoes his sentiments * : —

" I hear daily, so many and grievous com-
" plaints of the state and government of this
" country, that either there is great lack of
" wisdom in those that have the chief charge
" to direct all things as they ought to be, or
" or great fault in the subjects, that through
" their disobedience, no good order (be it
" never so well devised) can be observed.
" What troubles have arisen in this country
" for religion, your Honour knoweth; all
" things are now grown into such a liberty,
" and her Grace taken unto herself such a
" will, to do therein what she lists, that of late,
" contrary to her own ordinances, as great
" numbers have repaired to her Chapel, to
" hear mass, as sometimes come to the common
" Church, to hear sermon. To have her mind
" alter'd for this freedom, she desireth to
" have all men live as they list; she can hardly
" be brought, and thinketh it too great a
" subjection, for her, being a Prince in
" her own country, to have her will broken
" therein. †

* In a letter to Sir William Cecil.

† Keith, p. 271.

Digitized by Google

" The subjects that desire to live in the " true worship and fear of God, offer rather " their lives again to be sacrificed, than that " they would suffer again such an abomina- " tion; yea, almost permit herself to enjoy " the mass, which is now more plainly and " openly spoken against by the preachers, " than ever was the Pope of Rome. This " kindleth in her a desire to revenge, and " breedeth in others a liberty to speak, and a " will to attempt to mend that by force *, " which by no other means they can get re- " formed. What this may grow unto, except " some speedy help be put unto it, I leave " your Honour to think; for myself, I would " I were far enough from the sight of it.

" There were two notable blasphemies " against God, yet not worthily punished, " though somewhat with difficulty, enough " to have the doers committed to prison. A " schoolmaster at Haddingtoun made a play, " to exercise his scholars against the ministers, " and baptized a cat in the name of the Fa- " ther, the Son, &c. One of the Queen's " Chapel, a singing man, said, that he be- " lieved as well a tale of Robin Hood, as any " word written in the Old Testament or the

* Even at this period, the deposition of Mary appears inevitable.

Digitized by Google

" New.* Her own mass, and the resort unto
" it; such blasphemies as these unpunished;
" her will to continue Papistry, and her de-
" sire to have all men live as they list, so
" offendeth the godly men's consciences, and
" so many besides that desire alteration†, that
" it is continually feared that these matters
" will shortly break out to some greater mis-
" chief. By the way, I will tell your Honour
" a merry tale, but very true, which com-
" monly tales are not. There is one that at-
" tendeth upon this Court, called Moffet, who,
" commonly once in three years, entereth into
" a phrenzy. Within these twenty days, his
" passion taketh him with such an imagin-
" ation that he is the Queen's husband. A
" great Protestant he is, and very godly when
" he is in his wits. He came one day into
" the Queen's Chapel, and finding the priest
" at mass, drew out his sword, drove the
" priest from the altar into the vestry, broke
" the chalice, and threw and pulled to pieces
" all the robes and reliques; cross, candle-
" sticks, and all that was there, were cut
" and broken. The mass-sayer was the Doc-
" tor of Sorbon, and at the hearing of it was
" the Queen's physician, and (as he saith

* Not approved by the Holy Church.

† According to Randolph, its dissaffection was not confined to the rigid Puritans.

Digitized by Google

" himself) never in greater fear of his life,
" and hid himself behind the tapestry, until
" this execution of this mass-god was past.
" This doth as much anger the Queen, as it
" doth please many others, to have her sacred
" place thus disturbed.

" These often debates, these common con-
" troversies between her nobles, must needs
" bring great disliking; and so often renewed,
" yea, almost daily, to her Grace's grief to
" hear of them, must needs grow to a mis-
" chief, and as they say, *erumpere in nervum.*
" Above all the rest, this is that is feared,
" (that will be the breach of all good accord
" and quietness of this estate, though the rest
" be borne with) that is, if she match herself
" with a Papist, by whom she may be fortified
" to her intent. Of this point there is no small
" care taken, and much doubt risen what shall
" become of those who in times past have so
" far attempted as to establish here churches,
" &c. without her consent. Sometime they
" take advice to be suitor unto the Queen's
" [of England] Majestie, that she will be so
" careful of this estate, and with those that
" with all reverence and humble sort are ready
" to serve her, and obey her next unto their
" own sovereign."

Although Murray was hostile to the Queen's marriage, he could form no feasible objection

Digitized by Google

to the restoration of the Earl of Lennox, nor to the reception of Darnley in Scotland; and it was actually in his house at Wemyss, in Fife, that the youthful lord was presented to his Queen. To his romantic adventure, he had been prompted by the suggestions of his mother, the aspiring Lady Lennox, the niece of Henry the Eighth, who, during four years, had not ceased to speculate on her Henry's union with the Queen of Scots. A Catholic herself, she had infused into her son's mind the same principles; and though from policy, he *trim'd* his religion between Puritanism and Popery*, she was persuaded his cousin would have no reason to be dissatisfied with his sentiments. But she trusted not to his personal merits alone, for the success of the enterprize. Bred in a court, and familiar with its venal intrigues, she had collected money and jewels to be judiciously distributed to favourites and parasites; and having thus prepared the way, parted from him with secret exultation, little suspecting she had taken her last look of that handsome youth, on whom she doated, and who was eventually to be the victim of her enterprizing ambition.

Inflated with that presumption which, in his

* Randolph in Keith.

Digitized by Google

sex, commonly accompanies the consciousness of transcendant beauty, Darnley was disposed to consider himself entitled to the greatest princess in Europe; for the present, however, he followed his mother's prudent counsels, appeared modest, and concealed his arrogance under the semblance of reserve. Though three years younger than the Queen, his majestic stature, and dignified carriage, were imposing; his features regular,—his motions graceful, whilst his eloquent eyes answered for his intellectual endowments. The first impression was not unfavourable. Mary remarked he was *the properest long man* she had ever seen*; and when, at the invitation of Lord Murray, he danced with her a *gaillarde*, they appeared to mutual advantage. In dancing and riding, Darnley equally excelled; he played on the lute, had a musical ear, and relished poetry. It was long since Mary had met with a cavalier, young, handsome, and of royal extraction, capable of appreciating her own elegant accomplishments. From the hour of his arrival, Darnley's object was obvious,—his success seemed doubtful. Whether swayed by pride, or coquetry, or whether Mary indulged the too visionary hope that she might be wooed for

* Melvil's Memoirs.

Digitized by Google

herself, rather than her crown, and sought to prolong the probation of love, it is certain that she refused the ring, which, according to the custom of the age, Darnley offered to her, as the token of his passion. She permitted, rather than invited his attentions, and by her reserve probably reminded the Earl of Lennox of his own unprosperous suit with her mother, Mary of Guise. In this uncertainty, Darnley, recollecting his mother's prudent counsels, presented a jewel to David Rizio, the Savoyard musician, mentioned by Randolph, who had been lately advanced to the post of French Secretary, and being shrewd and entertaining, a poet and a wit, had won the Queen's favour, and, by degrees, almost engrossed her confidence. That Mary should have relished his music, or even his conversation, was not surprising, considering the constraint imposed upon her in Scotland; but that, with the example of Oliver Sinclair and Solway Moss before her, she should venture publicly to distingnish one, who both as a foreigner and a Papist, offended the pride, and alarmed the jealousy of her subjects, argues a lamentable deficiency in judgment and discretion, than which, in her position, nothing could be more fatal. At this period Darnley too caressed the fortunate

Digitized by Google

Savoyard, who warmly patronised his suit; nor was his suspence of long duration. During a temporary malady, which proved to be the measles, he excited in his royal mistress an excess of alarm and tenderness, that betrayed her secret to the Court, to Randolph, and Elizabeth. The Queen of England, though in reality well affected to the match, from policy commenced a vigorous opposition, by committing Lady Lennox to the Tower, and recalling her husband and her son from Scotland. The message was received by Lennox with respect—by Mary with tears—by Darnley with contempt. The arrogance of that young nobleman was already but too palpable, and he not only defied the Duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons, but affronted Murray, by imprudently remarking, that he had obtained too many lands from the Crown *; for the last offence, Mary with difficulty persuaded him to offer an apology; even as a lover, he was refractory to her wishes; and, though ever ready to exact sacrifices, seldom condescended to make them; such, in fine, were his folly and perverseness, that Randolph appears not to have exaggerated his defects in the following description: —

* Randolph in Keith.

Digitized by Google

" His behaviour is such, he is runne in open " contempt of all men, even of those that " were his chief friends; what shall become " of him, I know not, but it is greatly to be " feared, that he can have no long life amongst " this people. The Queen herself, being of " better understanding, seeketh to frame and " fashion him to the nature of her subjects: " no persuasion can alter that which custom " hath made old in him. He is counted " proud, disdainful, and suspicious; which " kind of men, this of any other least bear. " Towards her Grace herself, I never saw " men's minds so greatly altered; yea, I " may say, almost to utter contempt of her, " without the fear of God, regard to princely " majesty, or care that she ought to have " over her subjects or country."

Independent of personal dislike, Murray felt himself imperatively bound, as ostensible chief of the Reformers, to oppose Mary's union with a Papist; the mass, though abolished by the Convention, was, by the Queen's example, upheld and protected, and in the troubled state of Europe, who should guarantee indemnity to the Reformers, unless their civil and religious liberties were fixed on a permanent basis? Such were the arguments with which the Earl justified his association with the Duke

Digitized by Google

of Chatelherault, and other Protestant Lords, which the Queen called sedition; his private applications to Elizabeth for assistance, and, finally, an enterprize planned, though not executed, for surprizing Darnley and Mary, and transporting the former to England, whilst the Queen was to be confined until she should grant certain conditions for the Kirk and Scotland. That the Queen's suspicions were alarmed was evident from the alteration in her deportment, and her estranged manners even with her female attendants; it was remarked that she supped privately with Lennox and Darnley, and that these and David Rizio engrossed her confidence. In the perplexed state of her mind, she is said to have sought relief in walking disguised with Darnley through the streets of Edinburgh, and that she thus satisfied herself, her inclinations were not unacceptable to the citizens, who passionately desired to see the race of Bruce perpetuated, and were in general disposed to sympathise with two youthful lovers who seemed formed for each other. Nor were the chiefs of the reformation unanimous in their opposition to the marriage, even Maitland, influenced as is pretended by his attachment to Mary Fleming, to whom Darnley was allied, declined co-

Digitized by Google

operating in Murray's measures, nor is it improbable that the Queen was by his agency apprized of the machinations that were prepared against her. It was during an excursion she had made to Stirling and Perth, that she became apprized of the plan which had been concerted between Murray, the Duke of Chatelherault, and the other malcontents, for intercepting her passage * to Calender, the seat of Lord Livingston, to whose infant son she had pledged herself to be sponsor. With whatever alarm she received this intelligence, she determined to fulfil the promise she had given to Lady Livingston, and with no other precaution than that of changing her route, she proceeded on her destined journey, and arrived without interruption at Calender, where, after the ceremony of the christening, she condescended for the first time to hear a Protestant sermon. By this concession she probably hoped to conciliate the ministers of the Kirk; she had already joined to her cause the Lords Athol and Ruthven, whose acquiescence secured the submissions of their dependants. On returning to Edinburgh, she was cordially welcomed by the people, but rumours and suspicions continued to harass both the favourers and adversaries of her alliance. By the con-

* See Keith. — Chalmers.

Digitized by Google

federates it was pretended that Lennox and Darnley sought Murray's life, and that cautious statesman not only availed himself of the rumour to refuse his sister's invitations, but framed from it an excuse for assembling his partizans, and for reiterating his clandestine applications to Cecil and Elizabeth. *

"The Lords of the Congregation assembled "themselves yesterday at Stirling, only to "conclude what their parts should be if the "Queen would overthrow religion, or do any "manner of act that might give occasion to "the Queen our Sovereign to make war "against this country. † She (Mary) taking

* Keith, p. 300.

† The following letter was addressed to the Queen of England by the associated Lords at Stirling:—

"May it please your Majesty, understanding by your "ambassador, Sir N. Throckmorton, and also by Mr. "Randolph, the good and gracious mind your Majesty "beareth to the maintenance of the Gospel, and we that "profess the same in this Realm, it is expedient to let "your Majesty understand, that lately we have present-"ed our Sovereign certain articles for establishing the "Evangill in this our native country; whereof, as the "answer is long delayed, so hope we very slenderly "thereof; and fearing that our earnest suit, joined with the "profession of the said religion, shall at length procure to "us no good will of our Sovereign, without our meritings, "and seeing it hath pleased to bless your Majesty with "that most honorable title, to be (under God) Protectrix

Digitized by Google

" an opinion that they would come to this " town and assail her here, sent for them with " the greater expedition, as by this letter * in- " closed your Honour may perceive, in which " you may note in what credit the Queen " our Mistress is yet in; that she can be con- " tent to use this term our old enemies †, be- " sides many unhonourable words that she " hath openly spoken; and plainly I must " say, that she is so much altered from that " majesty that I have seen in her — from that " modesty that I have wondered at to be in " her, that she is not now counted by her " own subjects to be the woman she was. " She is so poor at this present, that ready " money she hath very little, credit none at " all, friendship with few; both she and her " husband (so I may now well call him) so

---

" of the professors of the religion, and having in ourselves " experimented your Majesty's gracious liberality in that " behalf, can do none other in time of necessity, nor with " thankful hearts for the past, and good hope for that " shall come, than have recourse to your Majesty's ac- " customed bounty, which your Majesty vouchsafed in " our extremity." — Keith, p. 300.

* A circular letter from Queen Mary to the Lords Barons of Fife, Angus, and Lothian, demanding their aid. — Keith, p. 298.

† Quoted from the letter above-mentioned.

Digitized by Google

" high that yet they think themselves equal
" to the greatest, and able to attain to what-
" soever they desire. To let the world under-
" stand that the Lords have some other pre-
" tence in their heads than religion, she
" seemeth now willing to make no alteration
" of religion, and thinketh that way to make
" the Protestants more odious to the rest, but
" she herself altereth nothing of her accus-
" tomed sort; and because my Lord Darn-
" ley would seem to be indifferent, sometimes
" he goeth with the Queen to mass; and
" these two last days hath been at the sermon.
" It is also said, that she will be married by
" a Minister. Your Honour may perceive
" how her promise is kept to the Queen's
" Majesty, that her marriage should be de-
" ferred three months, and nothing done
" therein before the Parliament, which now is
" prorogued to the first of September. These
" matters are thus guided by my Lord of
" Lennox, my Lord Robert, and David*;
" other counsel she taketh little of any sub-
" ject she hath.

" Mr. John Hay is sent to declare unto my
" Lord Murray, the Lord of Lennox and the
" Lord Darnley's good will towards him; and

* David Rizio, who appears to have already possessed the Queen's intimate confidence.

Digitized by Google

" to purge them that any of them were ever " consenting to have slain him, as was re- " ported; and in that quarrel, my Lord of " Lennox doth offer to fight with whomsoever " doth dare avow it: whether it be true or " not, that the Lord Grey should have done " it, I know not. Shortly we shall know to " what end these forces are assembled, and " the castle furnished; whether the Queen " will retire, if she find herself not able to " make part against such as are of the con- " trary party. My Lord of Lennox upon Sun- " day should have gone to Glasgow, but that " purpose was altered because the other were " too many in his way, and, indeed, would " have fought, if he had held on his journey; " in this state and case hath he brought him- " self, the Queen and the whole country." *

During these cabals Mary appears to have been equally agitated with love and fear; her suspicions of Elizabeth, and resentment against Murray. That she should continue blind to Darnley's defects was impossible, and she already endeavoured to correct them; but whatever errors she might have detected in his understanding, she certainly suspected not the egotism of his nature, or the depravity of that heart, of which she flattered herself she was

* Keith.

Digitized by Google

the supreme object. From infancy surrounded by flatterers, she had yet to learn, that the woman who is born to wield a sceptre, inspires ambition rather than love. Her beauty softened not Darnley's wayward temper; nor did her generous affections awaken in him corresponding sentiments of tenderness. There is a tradition, that even then he preferred to herself one of her ladies. That she had, at least, a rival in her crown, was evident from the avidity with which he solicited royal honors. No sooner was he made Earl of Ross, than he sighed to be Duke of Rothsay; and when it was announced to him, that he must yet wait for that dignity a few days longer, he aimed his dagger at the messenger who communicated the unwelcome tidings. But the Matrimonial Crown, that solemn acknowledgment of the States, by which Francis had been recognised King of Scots for life, was the grand object of his ambition; and even on the eve of marriage, after she had created him Duke of Albany, he passionately protested, that now or never it must be yielded to his acceptance.* Such a decla-

* On the evening preceding the marriage, the trumpet sounded through the streets, and during an hour at Mercat's cross; a proclamation was made, setting forth the Queen's intent to solemnize the band of marriage with the most illuster Prince Henry, Duke of Albany. "In respect

Digitized by Google

ration should have alarmed Mary's caution, but she had already advanced too far to recede; the Pope's dispensation was obtained, the Cardinal's permission granted, the banns published (in the Kirk), Murray and his Lords summoned, on pain of being proclaimed rebels, to give attendance, and, finally, at half past six on the morning of the 29th of July, the ceremony was performed, by the Dean of Restabrig, in her own chapel; from whence Darnley, instead of accompanying her to mass, retired to pursue his favourite pastime of hunting. On returning to her palace, Mary, who still retained her black widow's gown, was importuned by her courtiers to lay aside that mourning garb, and, "*some pretty reluctance,*" says Randolph, "every gentleman was allowed "to take out a pin;" after which she retired to her chamber, where she was soon arrayed with suitable magnificence. At the wedding dinner the handsome Darnley appeared in

---

"of the which marriage, and during the time thereof, "we *will*, *ordain*, and *consent*, that he be styled King of "this our Kingdom, and that all our letteris to be direct-"ed after our said marriage, in the names of the said "illuster Prince and us, and King and Queen of Scot-"land conjointly." — Keith, p. 306.

It was for the States alone to make Darnley king for life.

Digitized by Google

royal robes, and equally with Mary, was served by three noblemen, the Earls Cassils, Glencairn, and Eglintoun, who secretly grudged their attendance. After the dinner, there was a dance in the French fashion, but the bridal pair soon retired from the giddy scene, to recruit their spirits for the succeeding ball and banquet. There was enough of music, singing, feasting, and revelry: but as Murray and the malcontent lords were notoriously collecting forces, the Queen and her friends also prepared to take the field; and Darnley, willing to ingratiate himself with the people, in the new character of King, went in state to the High Church, where a gorgeous throne was decorated for his reception. But short-lived was the new Monarch's triumph, when the cynical Knox, with even more than wonted keenness in his looks, expatiated pointedly on the misery of those realms, of which *women* and *boys* had the government!* To this vehement discourse, the haughty Henry listened with evident discomposure, till at length, in a frenzy of passion, he descended from his throne, strode out of the church, mounted his steed, and being too angry to eat his

* This discourse, which well sustains the reputation of Knox for eloquence, is appended to his History of the Reformation.

Digitized by Google

dinner, hunted during several hours, till his wrath had somewhat subsided in hunger. Such was the being to whom Mary Stuart had surrendered her liberty, and for whose sake she had offended her jealous nobles!

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV.

CAMPAIGN OF MARY AND DARNLEY. — ELIZABETH'S TREATMENT OF MURRAY. — CONSPIRACY OF MORTON, RUTHVEN, AND DARNLEY AGAINST RIZIO.

THE campaign of Mary and Darnley, though late begun, was soon ended. "The swash, "the tabron, and the drum, were stricken "through the streets, to raise recruits for the "royal army."* On the 26th of August, the two sovereigns left Edinburgh: the lords retired before them: and in their progress to Calender, they met no other impediments than wind and weather, and want of money. Eager to evince to her subjects, that she inherited the spirit of her ancestors, Mary marched on†, "her courage man-like," says Knox, "always "increasing."—By her side rode Darnley, in gilded armour; his father, the Earl of Lennox, led the van; the Chancellor Morton commanded in the centre: the King and Queen brought up the rear, accompanied by Parson

* Knox.

† According to Randolph, she wore for her defence armour under her dress, and carried pistols on her saddle.

Digitized by Google

Balfour of Flisk, David Rizio, and another Italian musician, called Francisco, and whose business, it may be presumed, was rather to amuse their friends than to terrify their enemies. Although Mary no longer confided in Lethington, whom she knew to be Murray's colleague, she missed his counsels, and was sensible, that her elder brother's place was ill supplied by the Earl of Athole, her husband, or his father; to compensate for whose obvious deficiencies, she associated with them the Earls of Huntly * and Bothwell; an arrangement equally displeasing to Lennox and her captious Darnley, whose folly and perverseness already caused her more perplexity, than the whole realm of Scotland. Vain and presumptuous, the Earl of Lennox wanted wisdom, had he even possessed authority, to correct his son's imprudence; and by his mischievous adulation †,

* The Earl of Huntly, the survivor of the unfortunate family of the Gordons, had been lately restored to his estate and dignity.

† Of this adulation, some idea may be formed from the tenor of the following letter from the Earl of Lennox to his son, King Henry, (indorsed to the King's Majesty):—

" Sir, I have received by my servant Nisbet, your na-
" tural and kind letter, for the which I humbly thank
" your Majesty, and as to the contents thereof, I will not
" trouble you therein, but refer the same till I wait upon
" your Majesty at Peebles, which shall be so soon as I

Digitized by Google

rather inflamed than softened the spirit of the haughty youth, who incessantly importuned the Queen to extort from the nobles, a recognition of his rights to the Matrimonial Crown; without which the title of King was but an empty compliment. To allay his impatience in the first instance, and, perhaps, to fortify herself against her brother, Mary had caused him to be proclaimed King, and exacted for him the same reverence that was offered to her own person; but she, too late, perceived her error, and signified an intention to resist his future encroachments. Exasperated by this proof of firmness, Darnley vented his spleen on all her confidential servants; even his old friend, David Rizio, incurred his displeasure, because he was still trusted by his mistress,

---

" hear the certainty of your going thither; and for that " the extremity of this stormy weather causes me to " doubt of your setting forward, therefore, I stay till I " hear from your Majesty, which I shall *humbly* beseech " you I may, and I shall not fail to wait upon you ac- " cordingly; this committing your Majesty to the bles- " sing of God, and preserve you in health, long life, and " most happy reign, your Majesty's most humble subject " and servant, Matthew Lennox.

" I shall desire your Majesty to pardon me, in that the " writing is not of my own hand, for truly, a pain which " I have at the shoulder is the cause thereof." — Keith, Preface, p. 7.

Digitized by Google

and because it devolved on him, as secretary, to be the depositary of the cachet or seal, for impressing the King's signature, when he was absent on business or pleasure. In the bosom of a high-spirited susceptible woman, the discovery of Darnley's ingratitude, was in itself sufficient to inflict a cruel wound; but this anguish was aggravated by the detection of vicious propensities, which could not be concealed from the world, and which must inevitably destroy respect even when they eradicate not affection.

The following is a sketch of the young King's character four months after marriage:

" All people say, that Darnley is too much " addicted to drinking. 'Tis certainly re- " ported, there was some jar betwixt the " Queen and him, at an entertainment in a " merchant's house in Edinburgh, she only " dissuaded him from drinking too much him- " self, and enticing others; in both which he " proceeded, and gave her such words that " she left the place with tears; which, they " that are known to their proceedings, say, " is not strange to be seen. These jars arise, " amongst other things, from his seeking the " Matrimonial Crown, which she will not " yield unto; the calling in of the coin, " wherein they were both, and the Duke's (of

Digitized by Google

" Chastelherault) finding so favourable ad-
" dress; which hath much displeased both
" him and his father. Darnley is in great
" misliking with the Queen: she is very weary
" of him: and, as some judge, will be more so
" ere long; for true it is, that those who de-
" pend wholly upon him, are not liked of her;
" nor they that follow her, of him; as David
" Rizio, and others; some say, she likes the
" Duke better now than formerly; so some
" think, that if there should be the quarrel
" betwixt her and Darnley, which she could
" not appease, that she will use the Duke's
" aid in that affair. There also have arisen
" some unkind speeches, about signing letters:
" he, immediately after his marriage, signing
" first, which she will not allow of now. His
" government is very much blamed, for he is
" thought to be wilful and haughty, and some
" say vicious; whereof too many were wit-
" nesses, the other day at Inchkeith, with the
" Lord Robert*, Fleming, and such like grave
" personages." †

If the situation of Mary excited commiseration, her chagrins were somewhat softened

* Lord Robert, the Queen's brother, a notorious profligate.— See Keith.

† Letter from Sir William Drury to Secretary Cecil.— See Keith.

Digitized by Google

by the hope which she was now permitted to cherish, of giving an heir to the ancient house of Bruce; but Darnley, far from regarding this circumstance with satisfaction, thought only of the mortifications he should experience, in the event of the Queen's demise, without that grand prerogative the Matrimonial Crown, which was to vest in him, during life, the sceptre of Scotland; yet with an inconsistency that marks the excess of fatuity, he so little sought to conciliate the people whom he aspired to govern, that he often went openly to mass, and on Candlemas day joined the procession in the Queen's Chapel, and actually bore in his hand a lighted taper.* His predilection for Popery, did not, however, prevent his listening to overtures from the Kirk party, for the accomplishment of his purpose; and it is a curious circumstance, that the agency of Murray (or his friends), who had formed the impediment to his marriage, was now to be employed in establishing his authority. During his recent struggle with his sovereign, that nobleman, finding himself abandoned by all but the Duke and five other Protestant lords, had taken refuge in England, where, contrary to his expectations, Elizabeth, instead of approving his late exertions, hardly allowed him

* See Randolph in Keith.

Digitized by Google

to approach her presence, and at Court publicly extorted from him, before the French and English ambassadors, an acknowledgment that she had neither aided nor abetted in his *abominable rebellion!*

After this humiliation, he withdrew to Newcastle, where, though privately supplied with money from Cecil, with whose consort also he cultivated a strict friendship, he no longer disdained to make concessions to his native Queen, and even stooped to propitiate Rizio's favor, by the present of a diamond ring.* A more disinterested advocate appeared for him in Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose remonstrances with Mary †, might have proved successful, but for the solicitations of her uncle, Cardinal Lorrain, the intrigues of the French and Spanish ambassadors, and, above all, the exhortations of the Pope (Pius the 4th), enforced by the donation of 800 crowns, which, however, never came into her possession. ‡

In this first conflict with her brother, Mary triumphed; but never was victory more dearly purchased, and little did she understand the character of the Scottish nation, if she ex-

* Keith. † Melvil.

‡ According to Melville, the ship being stranded on the English coast, its freight enriched the Earl of Northumberland. — Page 117.

Digitized by Google

pected, with impunity to bereave it of the chief, in whom the Reformers placed unlimited confidence, and who, having regained the favor of Knox, was hallowed in his daily prayers, and tacitly understood to be the object of that tremendous public fast, (ordained in this year), of which the Queen herself remarked, that it filled her with more dread than "an army of ten thousand men." Unfortunately, too, at this juncture, several noblemen resorted openly to the Royal Chapel, whilst the suspicion that Mary had acceded to the Catholic League, for the extirpation of heresy, kindled a secret discontent, of which the effects were soon to burst forth. To obtain the restoration of Murray was naturally the first object of the reforming party; but that nobleman having been proclaimed a rebel, was cited to appear in Parliament, on a certain day, to suffer the penalty of the law; — the confiscation of his estate being only deferred till the legal sentence should have been formally pronounced in that assembly.* To avert this stroke, it was contrived, through the agency of the Chancellor Morton, (Murray's bosom friend,) and his illegitimate cousin,

* It is said his lands were already appropriated to new favorites.

Digitized by Google

George Douglas, to inveigle Darnley into a confederacy with the banished lords, and other malcontents, of which the ostensible pretences were, to adjourn the Parliament, (especially convened for the condemnation of Murray,) to put to death Rizio, as the Queen's adviser to harsh measures, to procure for the King the Matrimonial Crown, and to vest in him the exclusive administration. It has been affirmed, that Douglas laboured, not unsuccessfully, to infuse into the King's mind certain suspicions, injurious to his wife's honor; but this appears to have been a slander, afterwards circulated by the other conspirators, in order to throw on Darnley, exclusively, the odium of the transaction.

By whose agency the plot was first conceived, appears uncertain. It has been generally ascribed to George Douglas, an illegitimate descendant of Angus, the father of Lady Lennox, who had lately become the associate of Darnley's profligate pleasures; but it is referred with equal plausibility to the artifices of the Chancellor Morton, who is said to have suggested to the King that he ought not to remain in vassalage to the woman who had solemnly vowed to him obedience. It was notorious, that both Morton and Maitland adhered inviolably to Murray, and that the former had determined to desert his mistress,

Digitized by Google

unless she consented to restore his friend; but, whoever proposed the treason, little persuasion was wanting to induce Darnley to adopt any measures, however atrocious, in order to secure that substantial power, without which he considered Mary and the kingly title as unworthy of his acceptance; he, therefore, entered cordially into correspondence with the banished lords, whom he promised to indemnify from the Parliament, and legitimately to establish their religion. In the original bond * of association, which both Darnley and Lennox subscribed, the assassination of Rizio is not mentioned, nor, in all probability, was his sacrifice alone intended; — but the unpopularity attached to a foreigner, furnished the young king with a colourable plea to disguise his baseness and ingratitude. That he was not impelled by a lover's jealousy, is evident, since he showed the utmost eagerness to grasp the sceptre, but no ardor to avenge himself on the pretended paramour, in whose actual murder, according to the relation even of Lord Ruthven, the principal conspirator, he remained

* In a paper subscribed by the King on the 1st of March, Rizio is specifically named, and others are alluded to, who should be punished according to their demerits.— See Goodall, 266. But in the following bond he is not even alluded to.

Digitized by Google

wholly passive.* Exclusive of the Queen's Chancellor, Morton, and Secretary Maitland,

* Certain articles to be subscribed by James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Earl of Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, and *other complices* of the noble and mighty Prince Henry King of Scotland, which they offer with all lowliness to the same Prince for whom they pray. The said earls, lords, and complices shall become and by the tenure thereof become true subjects and faithful servants to the noble and mighty Prince Henry King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady, that they and theirs shall take his part in all his *causes and quarrels*, against *whomsoever* it be, to the utmost of their power, and shall be *friends* to his friends, and *enemies* to his *enemies*, and therein neither spare *their lands, lives, or estates.* The said Lords and their complices shall, at the first Parliament that shall be after their return, grant, give, and ordain the *Matrimonial Crown* to the said noble Prince, all the days of his life. And if any person or persons withstand or gainsay the same, the said Lords, Earls, and their complices, shall take such part as the said noble Prince liketh, in all sorts whatsoever for obtaining the same: the said Earls shall fortify and maintain the said noble Prince in his just title to the Crown of Scotland, failing of succession of our said Sovereign Lady, and shall justify and set forward the same of their utmost, and if any man will usurp or gainsay the said just title, and the Lords shall defend the same without *fear of life or death*, and shall pursue or expel the said usurpers. As to the religion established by the Queen's Majesty since her arrival into this realm, whereupon proclamation and edicts were made, that they and every one

Digitized by Google

there were others of her council engaged in the confederacy: Bothwell, Huntly, and

---

of them shall fortify and maintain the same of their utmost power, as they become true subjects to the said noble Prince, so shall they not spare life or limb in setting forward all that may. — From the Cotton Library.

Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the noble and mighty Prince, Henry King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady, to James Earl of Murray, Achibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, remaining in England. The said noble Prince shall obtain their remissions if they require the same, for all faults of whatsoever quality or kind, and persevere in pursuing for the same till obtained, as soon as by their help and supply he obtain the Crown Matrimonial, and stop and impede that they shall not *be called or accused for whatsoever crime*, and freely remit and forgive the said Earls, Lords, and their *complices, all crimes of whatsoever* quality or condition they be, and to bury and put them in oblivion, as if they had never been; and they shall receive them at their return thankfully, as other true and faithful subjects and servants. Item, We shall not suffer the said Earls to be called or accused in Parliament, nor suffer any forfeiture to be laid against them, but shall stop the same to our utmost power, that the foresaid Earls returning into the realm of Scotland, shall use and enjoy their lands, livings, benefices, as before their passing into England, and fortify them in the enjoyment of the same, against all persons to the utmost of our power. As to the said Earls (their religion), we are contented and con-

Digitized by Google

Athole alone remained untainted. The Secretary was to prevent resistance to the King's party from the domestics; the Chancellor had corrupted the guards; Ruthven and Lindsay were to head the assailants. Of all the actors in this tragedy, Darnley was at once the most weak and wicked. Ruthven and Lindsay were inflamed with zeal for religion: Morton's treason was, in some degree, mitigated by his attachment to Murray: even the ruffian Douglas planted not his dagger in the bosom of a confiding woman, to whom, by every tie of duty and humanity, he was bound to give protection.*

---

sent that they use the same according to the Queen's proclamation made thereupon. And if any person or persons offer to make impediment therein, we shall take part of the aforesaid Earls to the utmost of our power: and after their return upon adhering and good service to be done to us, We, the said noble Prince shall consent, aid, and assist to the establishing of the religion now professed, and concur with them if any power shall withstand them. We shall fortify and maintain the said Earls against whom soever in all their just causes and quarrels. — Keith, Appendix.

* See Keith, Appendix, p. 120, 121. — This and the following account are taken from the Relation written in Lord Ruthven's name, in 1566, intituled "A Discourse "of the late Troubles that happened in Scotland, be- "twixt the noble and mighty Princess, by the grace

Digitized by Google

It was on Saturday, the 5th of April, 1566, two days previous to that on which the Parliament were to assemble, that Mary, now far advanced in pregnancy, was supping in a private apartment adjoining her bed-chamber, attended as usual by her sister Lady Argyle, her brother the Earl of Orkney, Areskine, Master of the Household, her physician, and Rizio; when suddenly the court-yard was filled with armed men, and the shouts of "A "Douglas! — a Douglas!" raised by Morton's followers, were loudly vociferated. Before the Queen could enquire the cause of the disturbance, Darnley, entering by a private passage, took his seat beside her; whilst, from the opposite door, several armed men rushed in; and, more conspicuous than the rest, the Lord Ruthven, who, though languishing under a hopeless disease, was impelled by fanaticism to devote the last remains of life to the perpetration of an atrocious murder.

"of God, Queen of Scotland, and her husband, Henry, "the King." As this discourse was written by Mary's inveterate enemy, it cannot be suspected of partiality; yet even this statement furnishes no ground for imputation against her character. Even in the assurance subscribed on the 1st of March, David Rizio is merely stigmatized for bribery and corruption. — See Goodall.

Digitized by Google

At the sight of this dying man, whose wasted form was awfully contrasted with the fierce expression of his countenance, Mary shuddered, but before she could demand the motive of his intrusion, he exclaimed,

" Let it please your Majesty that yonder " man, David, come forth of your privy- " chamber, where he hath been over-long." The Queen answered, " What offence hath he " done?"

Ruthven replied, " That he made a greater " and more heinous offence to her Majesty's " honor, the King her husband, the nobility, " and commonwealth."

" And how?" said she.

" If it would please your Majesty, he hath " offended your honour, which I dare not be " so bold as to speak of. * As to the King " your husband's honour, he hath hindred " him of the Crown Matrimonial, which your " Grace promised him; besides many other " things which are not necessary to be ex- " pressed; and hath caused your Majesty to " banish a great part of the nobility, and to

* It is to be doubted whether Ruthven *said all* that is here ascribed to him, since the Queen in her letter to her ambassador in France alludes not to this insult, which she would have been most likely to resent.

Digitized by Google

" forfeit them, that he might be made a Lord. *
" And to your Commonweal he hath been a
" common destroyer, hindring your Majesty
" to grant or give any thing but what passed
" through his hands, by taking of bribes for
" the same; and caused your Majesty to put
" at the Lord Ross for his whole land, be-
" cause he would not give over the lands of
" Melvin to the said David, besides many
" other inconveniences that he solicited your
" Majesty to do." Then the Lord Ruthven said to the King, " Sir, take the Queen your " wife and Sovereign to you," who stood all amazed and knew not what to do.

" Then her Majesty rose upon her feet and " stood before David, he holding her Majesty " by the plaits of her gown, leaning back over " the arch of the window, his dagger drawn in " his hand: meanwhile Arthur Areskin, and " the Abbot of Holyrood House, and the Lord " Keith, Master of the Household, with the " French Apothecary, and one of the Cham- " ber, began to lay hands on the Lord Ruth- " ven, none of the King's party being there " present. Then the said Lord Ruthven " pulled out his dagger, and defended him-

* There appears to have been no foundation for this aspersion, afterwards repeated by Buchanan.

Digitized by Google

" self until more came in, and said to them,
" 'Lay no hands on me, for I will not be
" 'handled.' At the coming in of others into
" the Cabinet, the said Lord Ruthven put up
" his dagger, and with the rushing in of men,
" the board fell into the wall, meat and can-
" dles being thereon." *

During this terrific scene of confusion, Mary appears to have fainted, since she passively allowed Lord Ruthven to put her into the arms of Darnley, with an injunction, little likely to be regarded, that she should dismiss her fears. In the meantime the conspirators, forcing Rizio from the window in which he still maintained his ground, hurried him, in spite of his piercing cries, into the Queen's chamber, where George Douglas, who had snatched the dagger from Darnley's side, inflicted with it the first wound, whilst a band of inferior ruffians eagerly dispatched their victim.

On recovering her senses, Mary, with admirable self-possession, desired the Earl of Morton to bring to her, from David's chamber, the black coffer, containing cyphers, and writings connected with her foreign correspondence. In this instance she was obeyed,

* This circumstance is mentioned in Melvil's *Memoirs*, page 128.

Digitized by Google

and now perfectly sensible that the outrage had been committed at Darnley's instigation, she thus indignantly addressed him:

"My Lord, why have you caused to do this "wicked deed to me, considering that I took "you from low estate and made you my hus- "band; what offence have I given you that "you should do me such shame?"

To this, according to Ruthven, Darnley replied*:

"I have good reason, for since yonder fel- "low, David, came in credit and familiarity "with your Majesty, you neither regarded, "entertained, or trusted me after your wont- "ed fashion."

This insinuation Mary repelled with dignity: in conclusion, he retorted that since she had made him her husband she owed him obedience.

* In this relation, originally drawn up by Lord Ruthven, and corrected by Cecil, it was obviously the object of the writer, to represent Darnley as sole author of the conspiracy. Whether in the first instance it originated with Darnley, or with Ruthven and Morton, has always been disputed; but as there are some palpable falsehoods in this relation, it will hereafter appear to have been very doubtful whether Lord Ruthven or Darnley said so much of Rizio. George Douglas purposely left in the body of Rizio, Darnley's dagger: but the King never quitted the chamber.

Digitized by Google

Without descending to altercation, Mary replied, " My Lord, all the offence that is " done me you have the wite thereof, for the " which I shall be your wife no longer."

Here Ruthven exhorted her to submit to her husband, not perhaps without a secret exultation that, having himself been repulsed by her, she had such fatal cause to repent her imprudent choice*; but whilst his stern countenance bespoke implacable hatred, he sunk exhausted into a chair, and entreating her Majesty's pardon, drank a cup of wine. With a look of mingled horror and disgust, the Queen exclaimed, " Is this your sickness?"

" God forbid that your Majesty had such a " malady."

" If I die or the Commonwealth perish," replied the Queen, " I will leave the re- " venge of my cause to my friends, to be " taken of you, Lord Ruthven, and your " posterity; I have the King of Spain and " the Emperor for my friends, also the King " of France, my good brother, with my uncles " of Lorrain, besides the Pope's holiness, and " many other Princes in Italy."

" Madam," replied Ruthven, " these " Princes are overgreat personages to meddle

* See Knox.

Digitized by Google

" with so poor a man as I am, and if any " thing be done this night, which your Ma- " jesty mislikes, the King your husband, and " none of us is to be blamed."

Here a new tumult arose in the palace, occasioned by an effort of Bothwell, Huntly, and Athole, to expel the King's party. To appease this disorder, Ruthven, with renewed energy, left the apartment; when Darnley promptly announced the expected return of Murray and the banished lords, with the repeal of their forfeiture; to which intimation Mary replied, that it was *not her fault* they had been banished so long, but to appease his discontent. When Ruthven re-appeared, Mary enquired for Rizio, but received an evasive answer: she next demanded how long such strict friendship had subsisted between him and Murray; and reverting to a former period, added, " Remember you what the " Earl of Murray would have had me to do " unto you, for giving me the ring?"

" I bear no quarrel," said Ruthven, " for " that cause, but heartily forgive him and all " others; and as for that ring, it had no more " virtue than another, but was a little ring, " with a pointed diamond in it."*

* In one of her sociable conversations with Knox, Mary mentioned Lord Ruthven having given her a ring;

Digitized by Google

" Remember you not, that you said it had " a virtue to keep me from poison?"

" It may be, I said that the ring had so " much virtue; but I take from you that evil " opinion of pre-supposition, that you con- " ceived the Protestants would have done; " since I know they will do no more harm to " your Majesty's body, than to their own " hearts. It was so imprinted in your Ma- " jesty's mind, that it could not be removed " without a contrary impression."

" What offence or default have I com- " mitted, to be thus treated?"

" Enquire of the King, your husband."

" Nay, I will enquire of you?"

" Madam, if it would please your Majesty " to remember, that you have for this long " time, a number of perverse persons, and " especially one David, a stranger, an Italian, " who ruled and guided the country without " advice of the nobility and council; and es- " pecially against those peers that were ba- " nished."

" Were you not one of my council? Why " would you not declare, if I did ought " amiss?"

---

but added, " I cannot love Lord Ruthven, he practises " necromancy;" and she was serious; so incurably was her mind infected with superstition. — See Knox.

Digitized by Google

" Because your Majesty would not listen, " in all the time your Majesty was at Dum- " fries; but whenever you called your coun- " cil together, did things by yourself, and " your privy persons: albeit, your nobility " suffer the pains and expence."

" Well, you find great fault with me; I " will be content to set down my crown be- " fore the Lords of the Articles*, and if they " find that I have offended, to give it where " they please."

" God forbid, Madam: but who chose the " said Lords of the Articles?"

" Not I."

" Saving your Majesty's reverence, you " chose them all in Seaton, and nominated " them; and as for your Majesty's council, it " hath been suffered to wait full long: and " what was done, it behoved them to say, it " was your Majesty's pleasure, and the Lords " of the Articles. Your Majesty first chose " such as would say whatsoever you thought;

* Dr. Robertson informs us, that " it was the business " of the Lords of Articles to prepare and digest all the " matters which were to be laid before Parliament; and " that they not only directed its proceedings, but pos- " sessed a negative before debate. It should be remem- " bered that a Scottish Parliament consisted of great " barons, ecclesiastics, and a few representatives of

Digitized by Google

" and now, when the Lords of the Articles " have sitten certain days, reasoning if they " could find any principal cause why they " should be forfeited? No, Madam, not so, " much as one point, except false witness, " be brought against them." *

Here, perceiving that Mary had been seized with faintness, Lord Ruthven paused, and with some humanity, recommended Darnley to leave her to repose. They had no sooner withdrawn, than the new Sovereign issued his commands to the magistrates of the city, that none but Protestants should leave their houses; the next day he discharged the Parliament by proclamation. During this night of agony, Mary was heard to traverse her chamber in perturbation, scarcely to be conceived. Whatever she had before suffered, or feared, sunk into insignificance: she was now a captive, imprisoned in her own palace, and by the connivance of that man she had so fondly loved. It was true, she might suspect

---

" boroughs; they composed but one assembly, over " which the Lord Chancellor presided. According to " the same historian, the prerogative of election resided " in the Sovereign."

* The Lord Ruthven's relation.—See Keith, Appendix.

Digitized by Google

that he had been the dupe of a faction hostile to her government: but small was the consolation to be derived from the conviction of his unparalleled folly. To what point the conspiracy tended, she neither knew, nor ventured to enquire. The terrible aspect of Lord Ruthven filled her with sinister forebodings; nor could she banish the impression, that he sought even her life. But terror did not deprive her of self-possession; and though debarred from all but one or two female servants, she contrived to transmit a message to Bothwell and Huntly, who promised to effect her deliverance; and having accidentally caught a glimpse from her window of Melvil, she took the opportunity by him to communicate to Murray an assurance of unlimited pardon, on condition that he should preserve her life and liberty. But her best hope was still placed on Darnley, who, though ashamed to enter her chamber, at length approached, and finding her more calm than he expected, by degrees unfolded the history of the fatal confederacy. But this part of the relation ought to be given in Mary's own words, which, allowing for her agitation, appears to have been more conformable to facts, than the Lord Ruth-

Digitized by Google

ven's statement.* Having described the attack on Rizio, she thus continues:

"After this deed, the said Lord Ruthven, "coming again in our presence, declared "how they and their complices were highly "offended with our proceedings and tyranny, "which was not to them tolerable: how he "was abused by the said David, — whom "they had actually put to death; namely, "in taking his counsel for maintenance of "the antient religion; debarring the Lords "who were fugitive, and entertaining amity "with foreign princes; — putting, also, upon "counsel the Lords Bothwell and Huntly †, "who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself; that the Lords banished "in England, were that morn to resort to us, "and would take plain part with them in our "controversy, and that the King was willing "to remit them their offences. We all this "time took no less care of ourselves, than for "our counsel and nobility, to wit, the Earls "Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, Lords Fleming, "and Levingston, Sir James Balfour, and

* The Lord Ruthven's manifesto was published in reply to Mary's statement, which was contained in the instructions transmitted to her ambassador in France.

† The Queen's account may be compared with the conversation detailed by Lord Ruthven.

Digitized by Google

" certain others, our familiar servitors, against " whom the enterprize was conspier, as well " as for David; and, namely, to have hanged " Sir James; yet, by the Providence of " God, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly " escaped at a back window, by some cords; " the conspirators took some fear, and " thought themselves disappointed in their " enterprize. The Earl of Athole, and Sir " James Balfour, by some other means, with " the Lords Fleming and Levingston, ob- " tained deliverance." *

" Our brother," Mary continues, " the " Earl of Murray, that same day at even, ac- " companied by the Earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, " Grange, and others, came to us, and seeing " our state, was moved with natural affection " towards us; upon the morn he assembled " the enterprizers of the late crime, and such " of our rebels as came with him. In their

* The Queen adds: " The Provost and town of Edin- " burgh having understood this tumult in our palace " caused ring their common bell, came to us in great " number, and desired to have seen our presence, and " communed with us; and to have known our welfare; " to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being " extremely bosted by their lords, who in our face de- " clared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should " cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls." But this charge is disclaimed by Lord Ruthven.

Digitized by Google

" council they thought it most expedient we " should be warded in our Castle of Stirling, " there to remain till we had approved, in " Parliament, all their wicked enterprizes, es- " tablished their religion, and given to the " King the Cown Matrimonial and the whole " government of our realm, or else by all ap- " pearance prepared to put us to death, or " detain us in perpetual captivity."

How far Murray was really involved in the conspiracy is not very clearly ascertained. When he was introduced to the Queen by Darnley, she embraced him, exclaiming, "Had " you been here, I should not have been so " treated."—And at these words the Earl shed tears, which, perhaps, Darnley did not witness without emotion. Taking an arm of each, the unfortunate Mary walked in her apartment, supported by the husband who had usurped her rights, and by the brother who was hereafter to supplant her sovereignty. It was, however, some relief to her anguish, that she was in the custody of the now repentant Darnley, who solemnly disavowed having instigated the murder of Rizio.

" That night," she continues, " we de- " clared our state to the King our husband, " certifying him how miserably he would be " handled, if he permitted the Lords to pre- " vail; and how unacceptable it would be to

Digitized by Google

" other Princes, our confederates, in case he " altered the religion. By this persuasion he " was induced to condescend to the purpose " taken by us, and to retire in our company " to Dunbar. We being minded to have " gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, " desired, in quiet manner, the Earls of Both- " well and Huntly to have prepared some way " whereby we might have escaped; who, not " doubting therein at the least, taking no " regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, " devised that we should have come over the " walls of our palace, in the night, upon chairs, " which they had in readiness to that effect " soon after." *

According to this statement, the change which Mary had effected in Darnley's resolution, was rather the triumph of reason than of love. When he was convinced that the conspirators meant not to acknowledge his authotity, he desisted from his pretensions, and exchanged forgiveness with his injured wife. The prejudices of education and religion, the pride of royalty, even certain latent feelings of parental affection, of which the most obdu-

* To this letter was added, in the Queen's own hand, " I beseech you, as soon as this shall come to hand, to " communicate the contents to the Court, to prevent false " reports from being circulated; and do not fail to im- " part it to the ambassadors." — Keith, page 332.

Digitized by Google

rate natures are not incapable — these various motives operated on his fickle mind, and he became as willing to abandon the Lords as he had been eager to seek their alliance. On reaching Dunbar, Mary issued proclamations denouncing the principal conspirators; who, having liberated Murray, had no better resource than to flee to England, and take possession of his quarters at Newcastle: in the course of a few months, all the nobles were pardoned and restored, with the exception of Lord Ruthven, who died in exile, of a malady which had been previously pronounced incurable.*

* In the relation of Lord Ruthven, we have the following account of the manner in which Darnley deserted his colleagues:—"After supper, at six o'clock, the King "coming down to his chamber, the Articles, which were "for the security of the Lords, were given to the King "to be subscribed by the Queen; which the King took "in hand to be done, and desired the said Lords to "remove, that her Majesty's guards and servants might "order all as they pleased. The Lords answered, You "may make us do what you please, but 'tis sore against "our wills, for we fear that all is but deceit that is meant "towards us, and that the Queen will pass away shortly, "and take you with her, either to the Castle of Edin-"burgh or Dunbar: and the Lord Ruthven protested, "That what bloodshed or mischief should ensue thereon, "should fall upon the King's head and his posterity, and "not upon theirs.

"The King said he would warrant them all: so they

Digitized by Google

" parted and took their leave of the King, and passed all " out of Holyrood House to the Earl of Morton's house, " where they supped. And on the morrow, which was " Tuesday, the 12th of March, the Lords hearing the " Queen's Majesty with the King was departed, contrary " to their expectation, after the matter was appointed, " they required one another's opinion; which concluded, " all to remain within the town of Edinburgh, till such " time as they might send some nobleman to her Majesty, " for performance of the Articles promised for their se- " curity: they sent for the Lord Semple, and desired " him to pass to the Queen, at Dunbar, with the writing " of the Lords, which he granted to do, and received the " same with a copy of the Articles which the King re- " ceived before, and promised to do his utter diligence " to get them subscribed: who, coming to Dunbar, pre- " sented the Lord's writings to their Majesties: which " was evil taken of the Queen, who made him to remain " three days: who, at his return, reported that there was " nothing to be looked for but extremities to all those " earls, barons, and gentlemen, that were at the slaughter " of David, notwithstanding her Majesty's promise. At " that time her Majesty wrote to all earls, lords, and " barons, to meet her at Haddington, the 17th or 18th " day of March, and directed her general letters, charging " all men above sixteen to be at the said meeting in ar- " mour, with weapons, after the sort of war; and sent a " charge to the Lord Ereskin, Captain of the Castle of " Edinburgh, to fire on the town unless the Lords de- " parted out of it.

" On Saturday, the 23d, her Majesty caused to sum- " mon the Earl of Morton, and the Lord Ruthven, with " their accomplices, the Master of Ruthven, Laird of " Ormiston, Warestone, Haltone, Everstone, and others, " to appear before her Majesty, within six days, under " pain of rebellion, and putting them to her Majesty's

Digitized by Google

" horn; which, before, hath never been used in Scotland,
" but newly invented by them that understood not law.
" And how her Majesty hath handled the barons, and
" others our poor brethren at Edinburgh, and how they
" are oppressed by the men of war, God knoweth, who
" will put remedy thereto when He thinketh best; and
" how the barons' wives are oppressed, by spoiling their
" places, and robbing their goods, it would pity a good
" heart: and whereas her Majesty alledgeth, that night
" that David was slain, some held pistols to her Majesty's
" breast, some struck so near her Majesty, that she felt
" the coldness of the iron, with many other such like
" things; which we take God to record, there was not
" one stroke in her Majesty's presence; nor was David
" stricken till he was at the farther door of her Majesty's
" outer chamber: and her Majesty maketh all these
" allegations to bring the said Earl of Morton, Lord
" Ruthven, and their complices, into great hatred with
" foreign princes, and with the nobility and commons
" of the said realm, who have experience of the con-
" trary, and know that there was no evil meant to the
" Queen's body. The eternal God, who hath the rule of
" all princes in His hand, send her His Holy Spirit, that
" she may rule and govern with clemency and mercy.
" Since the former division, the King hath revolted
" from the Queen to the Lords, and now is come to her
" again. The constancy of such a King I leave you to
" judge of."

Written in Berwick, the last day of April, 1566, by Lord Ruthven, who died a few months after.—Appendix to Keith.

Notwithstanding Lord Ruthven's complaints of the Queen's cruelty, it is a well-attested fact that only two obscure individuals (Scott and Yair) were executed for Rizio's murder.—See Arnot's *Criminal Trials*.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V.

DISSENSION BETWEEN MARY AND DARNLEY. — MARY'S ILLNESS AT JEDBURGH. — DIVORCE PROPOSED. — BAPTISM OF JAMES. — DARNLEY'S ILLNESS. — RECONCILIATION WITH THE QUEEN. — DEATH.

THE death of Rizio forms an important epoch in Mary's history. Convinced, by experience, how difficult it would be to maintain her government without Murray's assistance, she sought to detach him from Morton and his ferocious partizans, Ruthven and Lindsay — and, having signed a remission for his offences, declared her willingness to re-admit him to favour, on the single condition that he should subscribe a bond renouncing enmity with the Gordons, the Earls of Argyle and Bothwell.

Destitute of political sagacity, Mary saw not how chimerical must be the hope to separate the interests of Murray and Morton, whom the late conspiracy had united in an eternal bond of friendship.

She flattered herself that Murray might be induced to coalesce with men his inferiors in talent and reputation, over whom he had long been accustomed to assume supremacy: she

Digitized by Google

was not aware that in becoming more supple he was not less ambitious, and that the mortifications he had lately suffered might have rendered him not less aspiring, but more reserved and insidious. That the moral character of Murray was not improved by the mortifications he had received during his late banishment, appears from the caution and obliquity by which he ever after regulated his conduct. Discarding the manly language which had once fortified his pretensions to patriotism and independence, he rather watched than reproved the *follies of his sovereign**, and from an open enemy became a suspicious friend. With his new colleagues he could not long harmonize. The Earl of Argyle treated with brutality his sister; the Earl of Huntly was the representative of the Gordons, to whom, a few years before, he had proved implacable, and whose sister, the Lady Jean, a strict Catholic, had lately espoused James Earl Bothwell, who, though hostile to Knox, adhered to the kirk, and refused, even at the Queen's solicitation, to be married in the Roman Catholic chapel.

The Queen had, however, presided at the nuptials with undissembled satisfaction. The important services which she had since received

* In Randolph's Correspondence we find that 'when Mary proposed to espouse Darnley, Murray openly protested against the follies of his sovereign.

Digitized by Google

from Bothwell excited her warmest gratitude; a sentiment that, in her bosom, was ever ardent and tenacious; and to evince the lively sense she entertained of his loyalty, she vested in him the privilege of exempting from punishment many who had been implicated in the late conspiracy; an indulgence creditable to her clemency, but which inevitably led to the persuasion that the mediator was the exclusive possessor of her confidence. The incompetency of Mary to govern by her own judgment was now well known; her propensity to favoritism alike notorious; and Bothwell, who in reality possessed talents superior to any of his party, naturally came to be considered as her prime counsellor. At this moment, however, it was her aim to form an united and harmonious administration; and on the entering of Edinburgh Castle, in which she was to reside during her confinement, she gave a banquet to her turbulent Lords *, who, in her presence, pledged themselves to live in amity and concord; but it was not for a woman's voice to silence the passions of ambitious men. Murray suspected Bothwell, and was himself hated by Huntly.

* From a letter addressed by Mary to Lord Argyle, inserted at the end of the volume, it is evident that Mary retained a strong resentment against all who had participated in the treason against her.

Digitized by Google

Darnley detested all the Queen's allies, nor could patiently endure the reflection that Murray, the object of his aversion, whom his influence had once banished, should, by his agency, be reinstated in power. To the new minister he appears to have shewn neither friendship nor hostility. The years of Bothwell nearly doubled those of Darnley; their habits and manners were wholly dissimilar: the former, brave and turbulent, coarse and unpolished; the latter, more refined, but splenetic and vindictive. From his father, Bothwell challenged, by hereditary right, the office of Lord High Admiral, to which was now added that of Lieutenant of the Borders; an honorable, but perilous service, which had formerly been filled by the Earl of Murray, and which that nobleman was, perhaps, not displeased to see transferred to a dangerous rival. To himself was assigned the more important function of watching over his sister's personal safety; and, in the event of her demise, of lending protection to her infant heir; in this arrangement, Darnley, or rather his father, detected a resolution to exclude him from the regency, and consequently relapsed into waywardness and discontent. The sensibility of Mary's temper was ill fitted to brook affronts or suffer wrongs in silence; but she had never shown herself

Digitized by Google

to be vindictive; and had she been left to the dictates of her own heart, with the natural facility of her sex, was likely to suggest for Darnley a better excuse than he ever offered for himself; but surrounded by venal or factious courtiers, who fomented their mutual discontents, the atmosphere in which she lived envenomed the wounds which could only have been healed in privacy and silence. In this, as in other instances, the injurer remained implacable. It was in vain that Mary absolved her husband from the crime of Rizio's murder, or reiterated the assurance of forgiveness; by no condescension could she reconcile Darnley to himself, or screen him from public contempt; by no efforts obliterate the recollection of that treachery by which mutual confidence was for ever destroyed. Young and susceptible, it was no trifling aggravation of her sufferings, that the outrage she had received was published through Europe, with comments as mortifying to her pride as injurious to her reputation; nor could she, perhaps, help suspecting that she was at once an object of pity to Elizabeth, and of derision to Catherine de Medicis.

During an absence of five years, Mary's heart had not estranged itself from the court of France; and she was still tremblingly alive to the judgment which it should pronounce upon her conduct.

Digitized by Google

To a woman of feeling, there is, perhaps, no humiliation so painful as to be compelled to expose the errors of the man whom she has passionately loved. A sense of propriety had already rendered Mary anxious, that her ambassador should exonerate her husband from all voluntary participation in the murder of Rizio; and it is worthy of remark, that, in the following letter addressed to her aunt, Anne of Este, she scarcely alluded to the catastrophe. There was, perhaps, another motive for her silence. — The Duchess having written to submit to her a question of importance to her future happiness, Mary had too much delicacy to obtrude on notice her own domestic calamity. During the three years that had elapsed since the assassination of the Duke of Guise, the Duchess had found an ardent friend in the Duke de Nemours, who now solicited her hand, with a promise of affording to her children parental protection. Although the Duchess was disposed to accept his suit, her delicacy was alarmed by an idle rumour, originating in the malice of party, that this Prince had long been her passionate admirer, and that she was the original of that nameless beauty for whom, in many a splendid tournament, he had exhibited his crimson livery. The surmise is rendered improbable by the tenor of Anne's domestic life; but she was jealous of her reput-

Digitized by Google

ation, and it is evidently in reply to some scruple respecting propriety, that Mary alludes in the following epistle*: —

To the Duchess of Guise (Anne of Este).

" My Aunt,

" I have received both your letters, one " after the other. In that transmitted by Mau- " vissière, you evince for my sake a sorrow for " which I feel not a little grateful, having " indeed had long and ample experience of " the kind feelings you entertain for me; in " which I may at least venture to affirm, you " do not leave me behind you;—but quitting " this pleasant theme, I have to tell you how " completely, in a very short time, I have " changed my character, from that of the most " easily satisfied and care-chasing of mortals, to " one embroiled in constant turmoils and per- " plexities, as you cannot but have heard from " the secretary of my ambassador, whom I un- " derstand to be at Paris: On this subject it " is unnecessary to dilate; it would indeed " be to wrong Mauvissière†, who has received, " on my part, true and faithful details of

* MSS. of Bethune.—Royal Library. Printed in the Life of Lord Chancellor Egerton.

† The Sieur de Castelnau, so well known by his memoirs.

Digitized by Google

" these unhappy transactions. And now, to
" pass to other things — I learn from yourself,
" and from my ambassador, what splendid
" proposals you have received from the Duke
" de Nemours, which cannot be otherwise than
" advantageous to your children ; and since it
" pleases you to communicate with me, as with
" one of your nearest relatives and friends,
" on a subject of such importance to your
" future prospects, I should deem it criminal
" to withhold my real impressions, little as
" any opinions of mine can be wanting to aid
" your judgement.—Assuredly, if I either saw
" or heard from others an intimation of any
" objections that could operate to your pre-
" judice, I should not scruple to avow it; but
" since, on the contrary, it is evident that, by
" forming this connection, you may reasonably
" hope to secure to yourself every possible
" good, and to be once more one of the hap-
" piest women in the world, I passionately
" desire it, and with so much the more ardor
" as I wish well to the Prince, to whom you are
" about to be allied, and to whom I beseech
" you to present my best recommendations.
" Embrace for me also *the darling*, and beg
" her to excuse me if I do not write till I am
" relieved from my burthen, which will not be

Digitized by Google

" for some weeks to come. I pray to God to
" arm me with constancy for that great trial.
" From the Castle of Edinburgh, this —*
" of May.

" MARY."

Nearly at the same time, Mary addressed the following letter to the Duke de Nemours †: —

" MY COUSIN,

" Though neither Mauvissière nor Mon-
" sieur l'Embassadeur has brought me any
" memorial, at least from your own hand, I
" cannot choose but write by Jaques, your
" old servant and mine, to assure you that,
" though you may impart your good tidings
" to those who better deserve attention,
" you cannot find either relative or friend to
" whom the intimation of your happiness can
" be more acceptable. The bearer can testify
" I have little leisure to write during these
" troubles in France: you have already had a
" taste of such commotions, but it will here be
" far worse, unless God shall stretch forth his

* The date is erased.

† MSS. of Bethune. — Royal Library. Printed.

Digitized by Google

" hand, whom I pray to bestow on you your " mistress, with all the happiness you can " wish for.

" MARY."

During her residence in Edinburgh Castle, Mary received an intimation (so gratifying as almost to atone for her previous sufferings;) that in the event of Elizabeth's death, the chiefs of the two political parties in England were equally willing to acknowledge her title to the succession.* Cheered by these smiling auspices, she at length retired to the state chamber, which had been decorated for her reception during her confinement, with a tasteful magnificence never before exhibited within that ancient edifice. On the nineteenth of June 1566, was born James of Scotland, and never, perhaps, did the infant's first cries awaken such various and powerful emotions in a maternal bosom, as when Mary received the assurance that she had a living son to recompense her sufferings, to endear her to her subjects, to realise the dreams of ambition that had so long floated in her fancy, and, if one irascible feeling could have alloyed the transports of that blissful moment, to

* Melvil's Memoirs, page 133.

Digitized by Google

avenge her wrongs, and baffle her foes. In cherishing the child from whom destruction had been so wonderfully averted, she naturally indulged the hope that he was reserved for a splendid destiny. Anticipations of greatness and of glory mingled with the simple emotions of nature, and it was not only the woman but the Queen that triumphed. Little did she foresee, that, in Scotland, a son must inevitably become his mother's rival; and that, in giving the nation a male representative of Bruce, she had lost her strongest hold on their future allegiance.

Even in the first transports of joy and national enthusiasm, the education of the Prince became a subject of anxious solicitude to her Protestant subjects; who, after having assembled in the High Church to return solemn thanks for her safety, unanimously resolved to insist that he should be nurtured in evangelical principles.

For this purpose a congratulatory deputation from the General Assembly, headed by the superintendant of Lothian, communicated to the Queen the prayers of her subjects that she would be graciously pleased to allow their Prince to be reared in the true faith. Unfortunately for Mary, she discovered not how much it imported even to her personal safety,

Digitized by Google

to acquiesce in this demand; — more unfortunately still, she allowed herself to believe that, both in Scotland and England, the antient worship was ultimately to be restored. In each country the number of Catholics had lately increased, and she well knew that in France, Spain, and Italy, a league existed for the extirpation of heretical principles. With these internal convictions, Mary scrupulously abstained from a promise, not only revolting to her conscience, but incompatible with her foreign engagements; unwilling, however, at such a moment, to cause displeasure to her subjects, she ordered the infant Prince to be presented to the deputies, and with her wonted grace placed him in the arms of the superintendant. Charmed with this affability, the minister uttered a prayer for the babe's future honor and prosperity, and, at the conclusion, extorted from the child a certain responsive murmur, to signify that he pronounced, Amen. Mary, now in her turn delighted, with genuine expressions of maternal fondness thanked the minister, sportively calling him good Mr. Amen, an appellation by which he was ever after distinguished.*

The birth of James afforded Mary a plau-

* Spottiswoode.

Digitized by Google

sible pretext for renewing with Elizabeth the subject of her right to the succession, nor did this application, however unacceptable, prevent the Queen of England from consenting to become one of the sponsors to her infant son. In the mean time, his mother delighted to form for him an expensive establishment, consisting (exclusive of the only useful individual, his nurse) of a governor, a governess, and between thirty and forty officers and domestics, amongst whom were several musicians. The fondness which Mary showered on her son, might have renewed her affection for her husband, had she not been fatally convinced that he regarded her with the most mortifying indifference. Hitherto he had remained with her in the Castle, but dismissed all prudence on being informed that Murray had obtained the Queen's pardon for Maitland, who, for what reason is little known, was become the object of Darnley's peculiar abhorrence. The Secretary, not having yet been admitted to the presence of his Mistress, it was agreed that their meeting should take place at Alloa*, the residence of the Earl of Mar, whom Mary was about to visit, accompanied by the Earl and Countess

* Alloa, on the banks of the Forth, during many centuries the seat of the Erskines.

Digitized by Google

of Murray, her sister the Lady Argyle, and her generous host, the Earl of Mar, whose wife was already the governess of the infant Prince of Scotland. With these friends and kinsmen Mary embarked on the Forth, in a vessel provided for her accommodation by Bothwell, who, in the character of hereditary Admiral, officially presided during the excursion. *

At Alloa, the Laird of Lethington presented himself to the Queen, and was graciously reinstated in her favour. But the pleasure of this restoration was destroyed by Darnley, who, not chusing to sail in the same vessel with Murray, had overtaken the Queen by land. At the sight of Lethington his ill-humour redoubled, and indignantly quitting the

* Such is the foundation of Buchanan's anecdote of Mary committing herself to the protection of Bothwell and the pirates. The vessel was commanded by Captain Blackadder, who, when Bothwell's fortunes became desperate, addicted himself to piracy. But no discredit attached to that officer at the period of Mary's embarkation: she was attended by the officers of state, and it is worthy of remark, that the female friends with whom she most familiarly associated, such as the Ladies Argyle, Mar, and Murray, were of unblemished reputation. For the documents of Mary's excursion to Alloa, see Chalmers, page 181, 4to. edit. — Also Goodall, vol. i. p. 293.

Digitized by Google

party *, he went back to Edinburgh. To that place Mary herself returned to meet the ambassador Mauvissière (the Sieur de Castelnau) who, having arrived expressly to present congratulations on the late event, kindly interposed to effect a reconciliation between Mary and her wayward husband. †

That the representations of Castelnau produced some impression on Darnley's mind, appears from his comparatively rational conduct during six weeks, when he condescended to accompany the Queen and the Court on an excursion to Megotland, or Peebleshire, a district long celebrated for the delights of hunting, and of which James the Fourth, and his successor had left many romantic traditions. Although disappointed in the original object of their expedition, the discovery of game, the Royal party progressed to the Western High-

* The calumny of Buchanan is also repelled by Mr. Chalmers with an unpublished dispatch of the Earl of Bedford, (extracted from the paper office,) specifically stating that a quarrel had arisen between Darnley and Mary on the subject of Maitland.

† See Mémoires de Castelnau, in which he states that the young King and Queen had quarrelled from mutual distrust and jealousy of power; and that Darnley was rash and unreasonable, and Mary Stuart ambitious and unsubmitting.

Digitized by Google

lands, where little pleasure awaited them, when the admonitions of Castelnau ceased to be regarded; and the violence of Darnley's temper, exasperated by disappointment, was perpetually rekindling domestic discord. Conscious that he had forfeited his title to respect, this miserable victim of egotism and arrogance, imputed insult and rudeness to all that approached him, or that possessed the Queen's confidence; and with perverseness, bordering on madness, directed his hostility towards her unexceptionable female friends, the Ladies Mar and Murray.* Wearied at length with incessant quarrels, he detached himself from the Court, retired to a private house, and positively refused to accompany Mary to Edinburgh. Left to himself, and to the undisturbed indulgence of his gloomy reflections, he devised a scheme that accorded with his morbid feelings, and promised him an exquisite though desperate revenge. This was no other, than to abandon his country, to wander like a desolate and proscribed being; only to publish his imaginary wrongs, and inflict agonizing pangs on Mary's pride and delicacy. Whilst he was thus occupied,

* See Earl of Bedford's Dispatch from the Paper Office in the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland.

Digitized by Google

he received a visit from his father; who, though in general disposed to encourage his follies, was in this instance sufficiently rational to dissuade him from his new enterprize. But wisdom loses its efficacy when administered to fools; and the Earl, finding his remonstrances unheeded, despatched a messenger to the Queen, announcing and deploring his son's determination. Within a few hours arrived Darnley himself to confirm the intelligence.

The behaviour of Mary and the conduct which was adopted by her ministers towards her husband, are well detailed in the following letter, addressed by the Privy Council to the Queen-Mother of France, which evidently bears the stamp of Maitland's able pen. After the usual exordium of compliment, the writer thus enters on the subject.

"About ten or twelve days ago, the Queen "at our request, came to this town of Lisle- "burg, (Edinburgh.) Her Majesty was desi- "rous the King should have come with her, "but because he liked to remain at Stirling, "and wait her return thither, she left him "there, with an intention to go towards "him again in five or six days; mean time "whilst the Queen was absent, the Earl of "Lennox, his father, came to visit him in "Stirling, and having remained with him two

Digitized by Google

" or three days, he went his way to Glasgow,
" the ordinary place of his abode; from Glas-
" gow, my Lord of Lennox wrote to the
" Queen, and acquainted her Majesty, that
" though formerly, both by letters and mes-
" sages, and now also by communication with
" his son, he endeavoured to divert him from
" an enterprize he had in view, he nevertheless
" had not the interest to make him alter his
" mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was
" to retire out of the kingdom beyond sea,
" and for this purpose he had a ship lying
" ready. The Earl of Lennox's letter came
" to the Queen's hands on Michaelmas-day,
" and her Majesty was pleased to impart the
" same to the Lords of her council; and if
" her Majesty was surprized by this advertise-
" ment, these Lords were no less astonished
" to understand that the King, who may justly
" esteem himself happy, upon account of the
" honor conferred upon him, and whose chief
" aim should be to render himself grateful to
" her country, should entertain any thoughts
" of departing, after so strange a manner, out
" of her presence; nor was it possible for
" them to form a conjecture from whence
" such an imagination should take its rise.
" Their Lordships, therefore, took a resolu-
" tion to talk with the King, that they might

Digitized by Google

" learn from himself the occasion of this
" hasty deliberation. The same evening the
" King came to Edinburgh, but made some
" difficulty to enter into the Palace, by
" reason that three or four Lords * were at
" that time present with the Queen, and per-
" emptorily insisted that they might be gone
" before he would condescend to come in;
" which deportment appeared to be abun-
" dantly unreasonable, since they were three of
" the greatest lords in the kingdom, and that
" those Kings who by birth were Sovereigns
" of the realm, have never acted in that man-
" ner towards the nobility. The Queen, how-
" ever, received this behaviour as decently as
" was possible; and condescended so far as to
" meet the King without the palace, and so
" conducted him into her own apartments;
" and there he remained all night, and then
" her Majesty entered calmly with him on the
" subject of his going abroad, that she might
" understand from himself the occasion of
" such a resolution; but he would by no
" means give or acknowledge that he had any
" occasion offered him of discontent. The
" Lords of Council being acquainted, early
" next morning, that the King was going to

* The Earls Murray, Rothes, and Glencairn.

Digitized by Google

" return to Stirling, they repaired to the
" Queen's apartment, and no other person
" being present, except Monsieur de Croc,
" whom they prayed to assist with them as
" being here on the part of her Majesty, the
" occasion of their being together here was
" then with all humility and reverence due
" to their Majesties proposed, namely, to
" understand from the King, whether accord-
" ing to advice imparted to the Queen, by
" the Earl of Lennox, he had formed a reso-
" lution to depart by sea out of the realm,
" and upon what ground, and for what end?
" That if his resolution proceeded from dis-
" content, they were earnest to know what
" persons had afforded an occasion for the
" same. That if he could complain of any of
" the subjects of the realm; be they of what
" quality soever, the fault should immediately
" be repaired to his satisfaction. And now
" we did remonstrate with him, that his own
" honor, and the Queen's honor, the honor
" of us all, was concerned; for if without
" just occasion, he would retire from the
" place, and abandon the society of her, to
" to whom he is so far obliged, that in order
" to advance him, she humbled herself, and,
" from being his Sovereign, surrendered her-
" self to be his wife; if he should act in

Digitized by Google

" this sort, the whole world would blame him,
" as ingrate and utterly unworthy to possess
" the place to which she had exalted him.
" On the other hand, that if any just occa-
" sion had been given him, it behoved to be
" very important, since it inclined him to re-
" linquish so beautiful a Queen, and noble
" realm; and the same must have been af-
" forded either by the Queen herself, or us,
" her ministers. As for us, we professed
" ourselves ready to do him all the justice
" he could demand. Then her Majesty was
" pleased to enter into the discourse, and
" spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him
" that since he would not open his mind to
" her in private, according to her most earnest
" request, he would declare before these lords,
" where she had offended him, in any thing.
" She likewise said, that she had a clear con-
" science; that in all her life she had never
" done any thing that could prejudice his or
" her honor: but, nevertheless, as she might
" have given him offence without design, she
" was willing to make amends as far as he
" should require; therefore, prayed him not
" to dissemble.

" But though the Queen and all others,
" with Monsieur de Croc, used all the interest
" they were able, he would not own that he

Digitized by Google

" had intended any voyage, and declared " freely, that the Queen had given him no " occasion of complaint. Whereupon he " took leave of her Majesty, and went his " way, so that we were all of opinion this " was but a false alarm the Earl of Lennox " was willing to give her Majesty; neverthe- " less, by a letter, which the King has since " wrote to the Queen in a sort of disguised " style, it appears that he still has it in his " head to leave the kingdom; and there is an " advertisement otherwise, that he is secretly " proposing to be gone."

The Secretary continues, —

" 'Tis true, that in the letter, he grounds " a complaint on two points; one is, that her " Majesty trusts him not with so much autho- " rity, nor is at such pains to advance him, " and make him honored, as she first did; " and the other point is, that nobody attends " him, and that the nobility desert his com- " pany. To these the Queen has made answer, " that if the case be so, he ought to blame " *himself*, and not *her*; for, that in the be- " ginning, she had conferred so much honor " upon him, as came afterwards to render " herself uneasy — the credit and reputation " wherein she had placed him, having served " as a shadow to those who have most hein-

Digitized by Google

" ously offended her reputation. But not-
" withstanding this, she has continued to shew
" him such respect, that although they who
" did perpetrate the murder of her faithful
" servant, had entered her chamber with his
" knowledge, having followed close, and had
" had named *him* the chief of their enterprize;
" yet would she never *accuse*, but did always
" *excuse* him, and was willing to appear as
" though she believed it not. And then as
" to his not being attended, the fault thereof
" must be charged upon himself, since she has
" always made an offer to him of her own ser-
" vants; and as for the nobility, they come to
" Court and pay deference and respect, ac-
" cording as they have any matters to do, and
" as they receive a kindly countenance; but
" that he is at no pains to gain them, and
" make himself beloved, having gone so far
" as to prohibit those noblemen from enter-
" ing his room, whom she had first appointed
" to be about his person. If the nobility
" abandon him, his own deportment towards
" them is the cause thereof; for if he desires
" to be followed and attended, he must, in the
" first place, gain their love, and for this pur-
" pose render himself amiable to them, with-
" out which, it would be difficult for her Ma-
" jesty to regulate this point — especially to

Digitized by Google

" make the nobility consent, that he shall have " the management of affairs put into his hands, " because she finds them utterly averse to any " such matter."*

At his departure from the Privy Council, Darnley had taken leave of Mary with these emphatic words: " Adieu! Madam. You " shall not see my face for a long space." To the lords he also bowed, and said, " Gentle- " men, adieu!" yet such was his vacillation, that the next day, he sent to the French Ambassador to meet him between Glasgow and Stirling, when he suffered himself to be almost persuaded to relinquish his purpose; and by degrees acknowledged, that he wanted to displace Secretary Maitland, the Justice Clerk, and the Clerk of the Register; and, as he ultimately abandoned the enterprize of going abroad, it should seem that the sole motive of his conduct, was to compel Mary to new model her administration. Respecting the objects or the causes of Darnley's repugnance, the Lords of the Privy Council preserve a discreet silence. But their omission is supplied by Sir Robert Melvil, who frankly states that it was, " because the King could not " obtain such things as he sought, and chiefly

* Keith, p. 329.

Digitized by Google

" the removal of Maitland, and the ministers " above mentioned, whom he alleged to have " been guilty in Rizio's murder, although " the Queen had acquitted him thereof." It appears not improbable that Darnley took this step partly to throw from himself the odium he had incurred in that transaction, and partly to deprive the Queen of an able statesman, whose talents must have fortified any administration; whatever resulted from his political views, he succeeded completely in rendering Mary the most miserable of women.

In the meanwhile, the Queen, in pursuance of a resolution formerly taken, prepared to hold a justice ayre *, at Jedburgh; at which her husband undoubtedly ought to have assisted. Nothing could be more rude and disturbed than the state of society towards the borders, where the great lords and their vassals equally spurned the restraint of laws, and the authority of the sovereign. The neighbouring districts had long been infested with banditti; to chastise whose insolence, Bothwell, the Queen's lieutenant, advanced from Jedburgh towards the Marches; where he was attacked by the robbers, severely

* Justice aires were holden annually in the provinces for the administration of justice. Many flagrant enormities having been committed in Liddisdale, it was deemed necessary that the Queen should assist in person, in the manner of her predecessors.

Digitized by Google

wounded, and finally conveyed to a place called the Hermitage*, for recovery. This unlucky accident occurred on the 8th of October; on which day the Queen, accompanied by the Earls Murray, Argyle, Rothes, Glencairn, and Huntly, had quitted Edinburgh; she arrived at Jedburgh on the 10th, took up her abode in the Deanery†, and immediately proceeded to public business. Proclamations had been previously issued, summoning the nobility and gentry of the country to her assistance; and also, to prohibit men from resorting to the Court in armour, or from offering to the citizens unseemly violence. It was not till the 16th, that the Queen, with her officers of state, passed to Hermitage Castle, twenty miles distant, whether to confer with Bothwell on business, respecting the motives for the late outrage on his person, or purely as a visit of friendship and condolence — a respectful, and as should seem, well-merited acknowledgment of his loyal services, — must be left to conjecture.‡

* In Liddisdale.—The inhabitants of Liddisdale chiefly bore the surname of Armstrong.

† The room in which Mary slept still remains, with the furniture, in almost an unaltered state.

‡ From the circumstance mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, that a roll of papers was transmitted to Bothwell, on the day after this visit, by the Queen's order, it appears probable, that the visit was purely official. Be that as it may,

Digitized by Google

It is, however, not improbable, since the Earl of Morton was, at that time, known to be in the neighbouring March of Cessford, that Mary might be anxious to ascertain from Bothwell's lips, whether he ascribed the attack on his person to that nobleman's instigation. In Morton's behalf she had long been importuned by Murray, by Elizabeth, and Maitland, and, was already inclined to yield to their solicitations; but the discovery of a new treason would have altered her proceedings; to ascertain the fact was, therefore, of peculiar importance. By whatever considerations Mary was induced to pay this visit, there appears not, (when calumny is discarded,) any specific ground for the suspicion that she then felt for Bothwell a warmer sentiment than friendship; in all her affections, she was ardent, and romantic, and though it should have been admitted that she had gone to Hermitage Castle merely to say one kind word to the loyal

---

the facts are very different from the account given even by Dr. Robertson, who, in this instance, incautiously followed Buchanan. That several days elapsed, from the time when Mary became apprized of the accident, before she went to Hermitage Castle, is ascertained from the public Registers; which demonstrate, that she arrived on the 10th at Jedburgh.—See Keith, p. 351, 352. Birrel's *Diary*. Even Knox mentions her journey to Hermitage from Jedburgh, instead of Borthwick.

Digitized by Google

servant, whose blood had lately flowed in her service, she had, two years before, made a far greater effort to gratify a *female* friend, when she rode to Calender, to assist at the baptism of Lord Levingston's child, regardless of the danger which awaited her, from Murray and his party.*

Had her attentions to Bothwell been susceptible of a dishonorable interpretation, it is impossible not to believe that Darnley, in his late epistolary remonstrance, would have availed himself of such fair and legitimate grounds for complaint. The ride to Jedburgh, with whatever views undertaken, nearly proved fatal to Mary: exhausted with fatigue, consumed with vain regrets and unceasing solicitudes, she was the next morning attacked by a fever, of which the symptoms soon became alarming: not only to her friends, but herself, her recovery appeared hopeless, and she solemnly prepared for death; but at the moment, when the secret frailties of her soul were revealed in confession, Mary avowed nothing which the most virtuous woman might blush to own, or to which the most rigid censor could impute reproach. There is a letter from Lesley†,

* Keith, page 292. —This was previous to Mary's marriage with Darnley. See vol. ii. chap. 2.

† Lesley's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. See Keith, Appendix. — Mary herself, in a letter subsequently

Digitized by Google

Bishop of Ross, to her confident, the Archbishop of Glasgow, that minutely describes the progress of her malady, and her behaviour under the impression that her dissolution was approaching. He expatiates on her patience, her piety, and resignation; and in what manner she conjured her nobles to watch over the education of her son, and to allow liberty of conscience to her Catholic subjects. But the good Bishop, being well aware that his letter would be communicated to Cardinal Lorrain, prudently abstained from mentioning, that Mary had entreated Murray to assume the Regency; and that she bequeathed the guardianship of her son to Elizabeth. There is another subject introduced in this letter, that throws light on the embarrassments of the Queen's situation, and strikingly illustrates the mixture of bigotry and facility, of timidity and presumption, that contended in her character. This refers to the arrival of the Pope's Nuncio, whom, to give dignity to her son's approaching baptism, she had rashly invited to Scotland, where it was utterly impossible he should be received, and where the intimation of such

---

addressed to Elizabeth, touchingly alludes to her illness, and to her having commended and in a manner bequeathed her son to her protection.

Digitized by Google

a purpose must inevitably have kindled sedition. To make an effort for his reception was, in Mary's eyes, an imperative duty too long neglected, for which she languished to offer atonement. As she was, however, sensible that she had miscalculated in bespeaking the Nuncio's assistance at the baptism, where Elizabeth's ambassador was to be present; she had no alternative but to suggest a delay, little agreeing with her inclinations, or her professions; and by which she compromised her sincerity, without assuring her safety.

A letter from the aged Le Croc, the French Ambassador, confirms Lesley's details of her patience and resignation, and that she professed her readiness to exchange forgiveness with her enemies. It was long before Darnley came to claim the benefit of this general amnesty, and his neglect drew from Le Croc the qualified reproach, that if the King was aware of her state, he was without excuse. Finally, the King arrived; but as his visit was not prompted by love, it afforded no pleasure; and as he still disdained to conciliate the woman he had so deeply injured, he made a precipitate retreat. In the meanwhile, Bothwell, now in a state of convalescence, repaired to Jedburgh, and had frequent conferences with his royal

Digitized by Google

mistress, of which, according to Melvil, the restoration of the Earls Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, formed a principal subject.

Mary's recovery was rapid, and to recruit her strength, she ventured, even in November, to commence an excursion, she had long meditated, towards Berwick.* She was accompanied by Murray, Maitland, the High Sheriff, Bothwell, and eight hundred horsemen, who formed for her a cavalcade, not less royal than that of her grandmother, Margaret. On being apprised of her approach, Sir John Foster, the Warden of Berwick, to avoid exciting suspicion of hostile intentions marched out with only three score men, who paraded before her on Halidon-Hill, where the English took leave with every mark of reverence and homage.†

In this excursion, although Mary could have had no clandestine interview with Both-

* This excursion is curiously misrepresented by Buchanan, and the journal supposed to have been forwarded by Murray to Cecil, inserted in Anderson's collections. One of its insidious features is, that although Mary (as appears from various State documents, and Maitland's letter) was publicly accompanied, she is always mentioned, as being with Bothwell only. The discrepancy in the spurious and genuine journals, is demonstrated by Mr. Chalmers. See Note at the end of the volume.

† Keith, page 253.

Digitized by Google

well, it is not improbable but that, as Melvil affirms, she privately apprised him of her intention finally to grant Morton's pardon, at the intercession of Elizabeth. Nor is it unlikely, that the guilty schemes of ambition, afterwards so fatal to his Sovereign and his country, first rose to his mind during the deliberations of her ministers on the necessity of dissolving the fatal ties which Mary had contracted with Darnley. How far the Queen was conscious of their intentions is not known; but she returned to Craigmillar, overwhelmed with dejection. "I fear," writes the good Le Croc, "she will still give us trouble—the cause "of her illness is deep-seated grief — and "she continually exclaims, '*I would I were* "*dead!*' —— The King, her husband," continues the ambassador, "came to visit her at "Jedburgh; he remained there but one single "night, and yet, in that short time I had a "great deal of conversation with him. He "returned to see the Queen about five or six "days ago, and the day before yesterday he "sent to desire to speak with me, which I "complied with, and found that things go "still worse and worse. I think he intends "to go away to-morrow; but in any event I "am positive, as I always have been, that he "will not be present at the baptism. To

Digitized by Google

" speak my mind freely, (but I beg you not
" to disclose what I say in any place that
" might turn to my prejudice,) I do not, for
" several reasons, expect that any good un-
" derstanding will ever subsist between them,
" unless God effectually put to his hand. I
" shall only name two: the first is, the King
" will never humble himself as he ought —
" the other is, that the Queen can't see any
" nobleman speaking with the King, but pre-
" sently she suspects some contrivance among
" them."

December 1. 1567.

A propensity to suspicion was a weakness to which Mary had been subject from her early youth; she had learned, from fatal experience, to watch her husband's actions with distrust; nor was the result of her observations consolatory, since, if Knox may be credited, she had the mortification to discover in him a new treachery, that of writing to the Pope, to complain of her lukewarmness and mismanagement in the Catholic cause. Whether even Darnley was actually guilty of this last baseness, may perhaps be doubted; but if, by malicious representations, such an impression was produced on Mary's mind, the effect must have been equally injurious to her peace.

Digitized by Google

With so many sources of uneasiness, it is not surprising that she should consume hour after hour in sighs and tears, or that her declining health excited the apprehension, that like her father she was destined to die of grief. At length Maitland devised a scheme, which appears to have received the sanction of Murray, for releasing her from this unfortunate marriage. One morning, accompanied by the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Bothwell, those able statesmen repaired to the Queen's apartment, where, having expatiated on Darnley's flagitious conduct, the secretary suggested the expediency of a divorce, which he pledged himself to obtain, on condition that the Queen should restore to their estates and honors the Earls Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven. Her Grace answered, "That on two "conditions she might agree to the proposal: "the first, that the divorce should be made "lawfully, and that it should not prejudice "her son; otherwise, she would rather en- "dure all torments, and abide the perils that "might ensue."

The Earl of Bothwell answered, "The di- "vorce might be made without prejudice to "the Prince, since he himself had succeeded "to his father's title and estate; although he "had been divorced from his mother."

Digitized by Google

" It was also suggested that after the di-
" vorce, the King should remain in one part
" of the country, the Queen in another, or
" that he should withdraw to a foreign land."

The Queen here said, " That perhaps he
" would change his opinion, and that it was
" better that she herself for a time passed into
" France."

Then Lethington rejoined, " Think ye not,
" that we, who are of the chief of your Nobi-
" lity and Council, shall find means that you
" be quit of him without prejudice to your son?
" and although my Lord of Murray be no less
" scrupulous for a Protestant than your Grace
" for a Papist, I am sure he will look through
" his fingers thereto, and will behold our
" doings."

The Queen here answered decidedly, " I
" will, that ye do nothing to spot my honour
" or conscience; and therefore I pray you
" let the matter rest, till God of his goodness
" find the remedy." *

* Extracted from the declaration of the Earls Huntley and Argyle. See Appendix to Keith.—Anderson's Collections.—To this declaration, which was presented at Hampton Court with the view of throwing on Murray's party the odium of Darnley's murder, the Earl of Murray gave in an answer, not denying the conversation alluded to, but protesting that he had never signed any bond, nor been accessary to any association for the King's death. But

Digitized by Google

It may be difficult to develope the motives of Mary's refusal: if she loved Bothwell, why should she not embrace the means of liberty? had she already embarked in a criminal intrigue, she was not likely to have resisted the persuasions of her paramour; if influenced alone by vindictive feelings, she sought her husband's life, she must have been sensible that when the nuptial tie was dissolved, he would be easily assailable. Why then did she recoil from the proposal, unless she feared to compromise herself by endangering Darnley's safety, or that some sentiments of affection still lingered in her heart? It has been supposed, that she dreaded the censures which might be passed on her conduct in France; or that she feared to separate her interests from those of her husband, lest she should injure her title to the English crown. All these objections are valid when addressed to reason, but passion would have challenged stronger arguments.

It should be remembered that it was in December Mary was thus scrupulous. Nor is it

---

he denied not that the proposal for divorce was made to Mary at Cragmillar, which is thus established, even by Murray's testimony. It is curious to observe how completely Buchanan inverts the truth, when he pretends that the Queen and Bothwell began to talk of the divorce, but being repulsed projected the assassination.

Digitized by Google

easy to conceive that in three months a total revolution should have been produced in her character.

Amidst all her perplexities, the Queen remitted not her preparations for the royal christening. Like all her family, she delighted in pomp and magnificence, and on the present occasion her pride seemed sanctified by maternal affection. At length the ambassadors of France, Savoy, and England being arrived, she repaired to Stirling, where she affected to discard her cares, and to think only of adding lustre to the festival. The baptismal ceremony was performed according to the Roman rites, within her own chapel, which neither the Earl of Bedford, nor any protestant lords could be induced to enter; but the Countess of Argyle, who represented Elizabeth, and who carried the child in her arms, ventured into the idolatrous temple, a crime for which she had afterwards to undergo public penance in the kirk of Edinburgh. At dinner, where Mary presided with more than wonted grace, the Earl of Bedford, willing to compliment the nobility at the expence of their sovereign, expressed his thankfulness that only two of the lords then present had countenanced the superstitions of papistry.*

* Knox, p. 440. — The Earl of Bedford brought from the Queen of England a present of a font of gold valued at 3000 crowns.

Digitized by Google

Mary endured the remark with her accustomed politeness, not perhaps without secretly felicitating herself on the absence of the Pope's Nuncio. With the English ambassador, came Robert Cary and many of Elizabeth's gallant cavaliers, on whom the Queen of Scots made a most favourable impression. A succession of masques and banquets followed, but in none did Darnley take a part; and whilst the Queen sparkled in the hall of Stirling Castle, disguising in smiles an aching heart, her husband, who, had he consulted his dignity, would have removed from the town, still lingered in it, immured in a private mansion, unknown, unhonoured, ashamed to meet strangers, afraid to seek friends, and with no other satisfaction than that of believing that, if he did not partake, he could at least poison the Queen's triumph. Various causes have been assigned for an absence derogatory to the dignity of either party. Whether he feared the Earl of Bedford would not recognize him as King, or scorned to witness Mary's magnificence, or believed he should mortify her by his perverseness, this at least is certain, that Darnley was no less miserable than Mary; and the following letter from the French Ambassador, Le Croc, affords a striking illustration of the sufferings

Digitized by Google

incident to royalty, as exemplified in the King and Queen of Scotland.*

December 23d.

" The christening of the Prince was solem-
" nized on Tuesday last, when he received
" the name of Charles James; it was the
" Queen's pleasure that he should bear the
" name of James together with Charles, after
" the King of France, because, said she, all
" the good Kings of Scotland, his predeces-
" sors, who have been most devoted to the
" crown of France, were called by the neam
" of James. Every thing was performed ac-
" cording to the holy Catholic church. The
" King, Lord Darnley, had still given out
" that he should depart two days before the
" christening: but when the time approached,
" he gave no sign of removal; only, he still
" kept close within his own apartment. The
" very day of the ceremony, he sent three
" times, desiring me either to come and see
" him, or to appoint the hour when he might
" come to my lodgings; so that I found my-
" self obliged to signify to him, that since he

* Buchanan pretends that the Queen would not give Darnley a suit of clothes. But Mr. Chalmers has demonstrated by the Treasury books, that Darnley's expenditure was at least equal to that of Mary.—Quarto edition, vol. i. p. 186.

Digitized by Google

" was on no good terms with the Queen, I " had been charged by the Most Christian " King, to have no communication with him. " And I caused him also to be told, that as " it would not be proper for him to come to " my lodgings, where there was a crowd of " company; as he might understand that " there were two passages in it, and that if " he entered by one door, I should be con- " strained to go out by the other: nor can " any good be expected from him. I cannot " pretend to foretell how all may terminate, " but this I will say, that matters cannot long " remain as they are, without producing bad " consequences."

Of the Queen, Le Croc adds, "she behaved " admirably, and shewed such earnestness to " entertain the company in the best manner, " as almost to forget her own sufferings."

Since the last rupture of the King and Queen, there had been no symptom of reconciliation; and, according to Le Croc, at this period, Darnley exhibited a more than usual degree of folly and captiousness.

In her private instructions to the Earl of Bedford, the Queen of England had judiciously advised Mary to resume towards her husband the same demeanour she had shewn at their marriage; but at the same time she

Digitized by Google

asked and even exacted that she should restore Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven; a measure which Darnley deprecated, and which so strongly excited his indignation, that without even saying, Adieu!* he quitted Stirling, and returned to his father's at Glasgow, regardless of the small-pox which raged in the neighbourhood, and of which he immediately caught the infection.

Although Mary disdained to notice her husband's departure, she was uneasy respecting his future movements; nor was the return of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven calculated to tranquillize her mind. In a letter to her ambassador, the Archbishop of Glasgow, in France, she mentions having been alarmed by a rumour that the King and the Earl of Lennox were about to conspire with certain lords to crown the young Prince, and to shut her up for life. On investigation, this story was found to have been a mischievous fabrication; and to the same pernicious source was traced another tale, importing that the Queen was about to put the King into ward; a calumny by which the Queen was much irritated, and which she failed not to identify with certain ill-natured tales that Lennox and Darnley had circulated against her.

* Knox.

Digitized by Google

"For the King our husband," she continues, "God knows *always our part towards* "*him*, and his *behaviour* and thankfulness to "us is semblament well known to God and "the world — especially our own subjects see "it — and in their hearts, we doubt not, con- "demn the same, — always we perceive him "occupied, busily enough, to have inquisition "of our doings, which, God willing, shall "always be such as none shall have occasion "to be offended with, or to report of us any "ways but honorably. Howsoever he, his "father, and their followers speak, who we "know want no good will to make us *ado*, if "their power were equivalent to their mind; "but God moderates their forces well enough, "and takes means of the execution of their "pretences from them, for as we believe they "shall find *none or very few approvers* of "their counsels and devices, imagined to our "displeasure or disliking: and thus commit "you to the protection of God.

"Your right good mistress,

"MARY." *

"*At Edinburgh, the 20th Jan.* 1560."

According to the date of this letter, it was written when Darnley was recovering from the

* Keith's Preface.

Digitized by Google

small-pox at Glasgow.* On hearing of his illness, Mary had sent her own physician, and manifested towards him decorous attention. To find her conduct misrepresented at such a moment, must have been peculiarly aggravating to her keen feelings; and to the Archbishop she scrupled not to avow her chagrin with an openness, in which she would scarcely have indulged, had she anticipated the consequences of the association already existing against Darnley's life. After two days she set out from Edinburgh to visit her ungracious husband; a step to which she was probably prompted by regard to her reputation, and, it may be, by the counsels of perfidious advisers, who hoped to render this step subservient to their own advantage. At Glasgow she found Darnley still languishing under the effects of his malady; no longer haughty and stubborn, but mild and penitent. Obduracy formed no part of Mary's character; her resentments were rather vehement than lasting, and when we recollect how much she was the creature of impulse, and how little of consistency was to be found in her general conduct, we shall not

* The nature of Darnley's malady was well known to many contemporary writers, both French and English. By his late researches, Mr. Chalmers has, however, ascertained the fact.— See note at the end of this volume.

Digitized by Google

find it incredible that, with her wonted facility, she discarded resentment, for the present checked suspicions, and even lavished on him the most soothing attentions. In reconciling herself to Darnley, however, she scorned to dissemble with Lennox, who appears to have been the primary object of her displeasure; and to whose mischievous agency she, with reason, ascribed much of her conjugal infelicity.

When Darnley was sufficiently recovered, the Queen transported him from Glasgow to Edinburgh, where, to avoid the damp of Holyrood-House, he was lodged in a mansion belonging to the Provost, in the Kirk a Field, the air of which was esteemed remarkably salubrious. Though at some distance from the town, this house was not solitary, the Archbishop of St. Andrews lodged in its immediate vicinity; and to dissipate any apprehensions that Darnley might entertain for his safety, the Queen herself slept two nights in the room adjoining his apartment.*

By these tender attentions she succeeded in tranquillizing Darnley's mind, and in reconciling him to the recall of Morton, Ruthven,

* See the examination of the witnesses in Goodall, where it is stated there was only a narrow passage between the apartments of the King and Queen.

Digitized by Google

and Lindsay. At her solicitation, he even consented to receive those three rebellious Lords, as friends, and to exchange with them protestations of cordiality and friendship. It was on Friday that he received their visit; they were presented by the Queen, and accompanied by Bothwell and Murray.* But these civilities served only to amuse the devoted victim. That the Queen should have forgiven Darnley, was not incredible; but never could the Lords have trusted to his promises of reformation; they were even perfectly aware that his re-union with Mary was incompatible not only with their private interests, but with the welfare of that party to which they were zealously devoted; neither, after the tenacity the Queen had lately evinced for the ancient faith, could it be doubted, that she would gladly coalesce with her husband to rebuild the altars, and eventually perhaps to re-establish the errors of papistry. Impressed with this conviction, they determined to strike a decisive blow, which should for ever relieve them from the caprice of Darnley, and which might ultimately compel the Queen to subscribe whatever conditions they should be pleased to impose for the permanent security of their religion. In the mean while the Queen avowed

* See Ormiston's confession in Arnot's Criminal Trials.

Digitized by Google

the most lively satisfaction for the restoration of harmony, and repaid her husband's condescension with professions of attachment. On the Sunday she sat with him later than usual, and at length quitted him only because she had promised to give her presence at a masque, which was to be exhibited in the palace, in compliment to the wedding of one of her attendants. At parting, she took from her finger a ring, which she presented to Darnley, in token of forgiveness; a gratuitous treachery, if she was aware of his impending fate, for which no adequate motive can be suggested.

At eleven, she quitted Kirk a Field, three hours after the house was invested with armed men, some of whom watched at the gate, whilst others entered to achieve their barbarous purpose; these having strangled Darnley and his servant Taylor with silken cord, carried their bodies into the garden, and then blew up the house with gunpowder, which had previously been deposited in the lower apartments.* The explosion took place at two in the morning, and before three, the leader of the enterprize,

* It is remarked by Dr. Lingard, in his valuable history of the Tudors, that from the manner of the explosion, the house being completely razed from its foundation, the mine must have been in the cellar, instead of the Queen's chamber.

Digitized by Google

Bothwell, repaired to the palace to announce the catastrophe, which he coolly attributed to accident. At first the Queen seemed petrified with horror; then naturally recurring to those sinister suspicions to which she was so liable, she wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow to communicate the awful tidings, and to express her conviction, "that the same stroke had "been intended for both; and that it was only "by the especial providence of God she had "escaped from sharing the same fate."* During some days after the catastrophe, Mary remained in a dark chamber, from whence she removed for her health to the seat of Lord Seaton.† On returning to Edinburgh, she received Elizabeth's envoy (Killigrew), in the same lugubrious state; so that (to use his own words) "he could not see her face — but her "voice was very doleful." In the meanwhile, Darnley's body had been embalmed,

* This suspicion had in part been excited by the Archbishop himself; who, in a letter dated 27th of January, warns her of some conspiracy that was forming against her safety, and charges her to double her guards. See preface to Keith.

† This is very different from Buchanan's statement. See Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honor.—Keith. —Killigrew's Letter (in Chalmers), the authority of which is conclusive.

Digitized by Google

and buried, according to the antient rites, in the royal cemetry*: in her chapelry a solemn dirge was also sung for his soul; and a reward of 2000 pounds offered for the detection of the murderer.

In the death of Darnley, abstractedly considered, there was nothing to excite surprize or regret; but the mysterious circumstances of his assassination, the silence, the secrecy, the cautious circumspection, so different from the daring spirit commonly displayed in Scotland, created no less wonder than abhorrence. To discover the primary authors of the murder, became an object of universal interest; and, what is extraordinary, the enquiry has never terminated, since after the lapse of nearly three centuries, the subject still continues open to controversy. According to Buchanan, who wrote confessedly to sustain the interests of his party, (and with that vehemence which betrays a consciousness of having provoked reproach,) the assassination was planned exclusively by the Queen and Bothwell.—This explanation would be more plausible, had there been fewer persons engaged in the conspiracy. Vulgar ruf-

* Lord Traquair and the other Catholic nobles being present.—Lesley's Defence of Mary's Honor.—Keith, p. 368.—Birrel's Diary.—Yet Birrel was a puritan, and prejudiced against Mary.

Digitized by Google

fians might have been hired by an unprincipled noble to despatch the slighted Darnley; — a perfidious woman might surely have employed the means of poison, so falsely imputed to Mary Stuart. The visit of the confederate Lords, and that reconciliation with her husband, which she had been anxious to promote, can only be explained on the supposition that she was ignorant of their real object; she would otherwise have been cautious not to remove an hostility so happily calculated to transfer from herself and Bothwell the odium of the crime about to be committed. That a numerous and a powerful confederacy had been formed to procure Darnley's death, includes those very men who afterwards became the Queen's accusers, was a fact so notorious, that the Earl of Sussex, in a letter to Cecil, (dated 1558,) says, "it was hardly to be denied."* That Bothwell was the assassin is indisputably admitted, but, exclusive of his intimate friends and retainers, the Laird of Ormiston, and Sir James Balfour, he was assisted by the kinsmen both of Morton and Maitland, of whom the former was afterwards executed, the latter, formally accused, and by his own confession,

* Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii. p. 5.

Digitized by Google

virtually inculpated. * Of such men, Bothwell might have been the agent, or the associate, but the relative position of the parties precludes the idea of his pre-eminence. To suppose that so many powerful individuals coalesced, purely to gratify the base passions of the Queen and her paramour, is preposterous. Nor is it without strong probability, that many English and foreign writers have adopted the hypothesis of Camden †, which traces the confederacy that destroyed Darnley to a deeper source, and a more important object, than the gratification of an unlawful love. From the

* Archibald Douglas, the cousin of Morton, was actually present at Darnley's murder; and his servant, John Binning (many years after executed for having been at and part in the same,) deposed, that he had left one of his pantoffles in the garden of the Kirk's field. (See the letter of Sir John Foster, in Chalmers.) Archibald Douglas was so strongly suspected of participation, that he remained many years in exile; but, at length, when his friends came to be in power, was, like Bothwell, put on a sham trial, purposely that he might be acquitted.

† Camden is supported by Laboureur, in his Additions to Castlenau; the latter better known in history by the name of Mauvissiere, was officially employed in many embassies to England and Scotland, and not too partial to Mary Stuart. It was from the materials and documents by him collected, and afterwards put into Laboureur's possession, that the latter derived his belief of her innocence.

Digitized by Google

moment of Mary's arrival in Scotland, the Protestant chiefs (as appears from Randolph's letters) had watched for an opportunity to establish the new kirk on a permanent basis. At the epoch of the Queen's marriage, Murray made an effort, which, by the lukewarmness of his partizans, or the jealousy of his rivals, was wholly frustrated. After the assassination of Rizio, a second attempt was rendered abortive by the tergiversation of Darnley. On the birth of James, the ministers entreated that the young prince might be educated in the reformed faith. The Queen's rejection of this overture, her notorious bigotry, her suspected coalition with the implacable enemies of the reformation, filled with alarm a large part of her subjects; excited the speculative genius of Maitland, and the ferocious energy of those nobles, originally disaffected to her government. To prevent those future tragedies, which Lethington had long since predicted, no better means could be suggested than to secure to the young Prince a Protestant education, and to restrain his mother from contracting a foreign alliance. In achieving this object, the agency even of a Bothwell was not to be rejected; and the same nobles who sanctioned his active participation in effecting Darnley's death, might concur in sur-

Digitized by Google

rendering to him the person of their Queen, rather to guarantee the party than to recompense the assassin. It is well known that Camden ascribes to Murray the most criminal ambition; but, even were the charge proved, that imputation cannot attach to Maitland, who appears to have been personally devoted to his sovereign; and to have embarked in this desperate enterprize, with the vain hope of averting from his country the horrors of civil dissension.

With regard to the Queen, although it follows not that she should be exonerated by the crimination of Morton and his confederates, yet, it must be allowed, that this fact materially vitiates the evidence by them adduced against her, and that those accusations ought to be received with distrust, that depend exclusively on their testimony.

It should also be recollected, that to include the Queen in the conspiracy, is to impute to her a degree of cruelty and perfidy revolting to her sex, and utterly inconsistent (calumny excepted,) with every other part of her conduct and character. That she once loved Darnley with all the tenderness peculiar to her sex, cannot be doubted by her most inveterate accusers. And who shall limit the forbearance of female affection, ever ready to

Digitized by Google

anticipate concession, to pronounce amnesty even before redress is offered, and to consign reiterated wrongs to gentle oblivion? The temper of Mary, however susceptible, was untinctured with malice. She was even too impetuous to be deliberately vindictive. In reconciling herself to Darnley, she had regained his confidence, and renewed with him the conjugal charities. At such a moment, to have conspired against him was to descend to the most flagitious baseness; during three weeks to dissemble her hatred—to smile on the man for whose life she thirsted, must have required not only a cold-blooded and fiend-like hypocrisy, but a systematic self-command of which, in every instance, she seems to have been wholly incapable. Accustomed to abandon herself to the impulses of feeling; young, ardent, no less vacillating than impassioned, Mary Stuart appears not to have possessed sufficient strength of character to sustain the atrocious part which her enemies have allotted her in this mournful tragedy; and, to say nothing of habits, feelings, or principles, the weaknesses of her nature, the very frailty of her sex, should lead us to acquit her.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

MARRIAGE OF MARY TO BOTHWELL. — SURRENDERS TO MORTON AND THE CONFEDERATES, ON CARBERRY-HILL. — IMPRISONMENT AT LOCHLEVEN. — HER EXTORTED ABDICATION. — CORONATION OF HER SON. — ESCAPE. — BATTLE OF LANGSIDE. — FLIGHT TO ENGLAND.

After the death of Darnley, the events even of Mary's domestic life became so closely interwoven with historical details, long and popularly known, that it is not without diffidence, the following brief account, chiefly derived from an author* who collected facts without inventing theories, is submitted to the reader: —

On the first announcement of Darnley's murder, the crime was attributed, with some probability to Morton's agency; but, in a few hours, whether through treachery or indiscretion, the suspicion was transferred to Bothwell, and placards appeared on the Tolbooth, naming both him and his accomplices, among whom was Joseph, the brother of David Rizio.

* Keith, to whom has been generally applied the title, rarely merited, of an impartial collector.

Digitized by Google

An answer was also published to the Queen's proclamation, in which Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, &c. were designated. Whether guided by these notifications, or his own surmises, the Earl of Lennox, in a correspondence* with the Queen, became very impor-

* The correspondence is extant in Keith: — "On the "20th of February, the Earl writes to the Queen, to "thank her for her letter of condolence; and beseeches "her to assemble the whole of her nobility, in order that "the authors of the iniquity may be discovered. The "Queen replies on the following day (the 21st), assuring "him, she had already issued proclamations for a Parlia- "ment, to be holden for that express purpose. The Earl "answers on the 24th, lamenting that the affair should "be so long delayed; and praying, that the persons, "whose names had been affixed on the Tolbooth, should "be immediately prosecuted in the ordinary Courts of "Justice. The Queen again writes, on the 1st of March, "that the Earl had misconceived her meaning, inasmuch "as she had never wished for delay, and that the Parlia- "ment were not to supersede the process in the Courts "of Justice; that, with respect to the Tikatt, affixed to "the Tolbooth, there were found on it names, many "and contrarious; but, if he should be pleased to spe- "cify the culprits, they should be forthwith prosecuted. "The Earl of Lennox replied not, till the 12th of March: "'My humble petition was, and still is, that it may "please you, not only to apprehend and put in sure "keeping the persons named in the Tikatt, but, with "diligence, to assemble the whole of the nobility, and "then, by open proclamation, to require the writers of "the said Tikatt to appear; at which time, if they do

Digitized by Google

tunate for the prosecution of the murderers; in her answer, Mary professed to participate in his impatience, and, finally, at his instance, the Earl of Bothwell, and the other persons mentioned in the placards, were summoned, by an order of the Privy Council, to take their trial on the 12th of April. After this concession, the Earl expected that the culprits should be kept in custody; but the Queen and Privy Council refused to restrain them of liberty, on the grounds of an accusation originally derived from anonymous testimony. Mary's conduct, in this instance, was loudly censured; on the supposition of her innocence, it argues feebleness, and rashness; but on the presumption of her guilt it is wholly inexplicable, since consciousness should have suggested caution rather than boldness; and, even if she refused

---

" not, your Majesty may, by advice of your nobility, put " to liberty the persons in the Tikatt aforesaid; and for " the names, I marvel the same has been kept from your " Majesty's ear, considering it is so openly talked of: " The Earl of Bothwell, Master James Balfour, and " Master David Chalmers.' To this the Queen merely " replied, on the 24th of March, by promising, that the " persons accused should be immediately brought to " trial. On the 28th, an order was issued by the Privy " Council, for the trial of the Earl Bothwell, and others, " on the 12th of April." Keith, page 370.

Digitized by Google

to imprison Bothwell, would she not at least, during a few days, have consented to banish him her presence? It should however be observed, that if she participated not in the conspiracy, she must have been persuaded of Bothwell's innocence, and with that mixture of credulity and suspicion peculiar to her character, probably ascribed the charge to the machinations of certain enemies, who sought to deprive her of his faithful service. Of all her ministers, Bothwell alone had uniformly evinced his loyalty. The Earl of Murray had once manifested hostility to her government, and was Morton's sworn friend; — Maitland had shewn himself intriguing. Among the nobles, the Earls Rothes, Glencairn, and their adherents, had formerly joined the standard of revolt; — Ruthven and Lindsay, the objects of her terror and abhorrence, were again in Scotland.

Previous to Darnley's death, the Archbishop of Glasgow * had warned his mistress of some

* To his honor, this prelate strenuously urged the necessity of a prompt and rigorous prosecution. In a letter, dated the 9th of March, he says: — "I can conclude nothing but what your Majesty writes to me yourself, that since it has pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorou vengeance thereof; that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me, better in this

Digitized by Google

imminent danger impending, and she at first connected her husband's murder with a conspiracy directed against her own person. Under the influence of this impression, she might have cogent motives for not restraining Bothwell's liberty, exclusive of the partial friendship which she frankly avowed, and she ought to have known would be liable to sinister interpretation; but reason seems to have forsaken her, when she persisted, by treating him with her wonted confidence, to evince her contempt of the accusation. It must however be recollected, that independent of the Queen, Bothwell commanded the talents and influence of the first men in Scotland. Maitland and Morton

---

" world that you had lost life, and all. I ask your Ma-
" jesty's pardon that I write so far, but I can hear nothing
" to your prejudice, but I must per force write the same,
" that all may come to your knowledge, for the better
" remedy may be put thereto. Here it is needful, that
" you forthwith shew the great virtue, magnanimity, and
" constancy, that God has granted you; by whose grace,
" I hope, you shall overcome this most heavy envy and
" displeasure of the committing thereof, and preserve
" that reputation in all godliness you have conquest of
" long, which can appear no ways more clearly, than that
" you do such justice as that the world may declare your
" innocence, and give testimony for ever of their treason
" that have committed it." — Keith's Preface, page 6.

Digitized by Google

were now his confidants, as was Archibald Douglas, a kinsman of Morton's. The Lord Chancellor Huntley was his brother-in-law; even Ruthven and Lindsay were conciliated. By the Earl of Murray, he appears to have been treated with cordiality; since, after he had been publicly accused, he met Killigrew, the English envoy, at his table. But when the time of Bothwell's trial drew nigh, the Earl departed from Scotland to France *; a prudent step, by which he preserved an exterior of friendship towards the Queen, without compromising his reputation with Cecil and his English partizans, and embraced the opportunity of strengthening his interests with the Hugonot party. That at such a juncture he should have left his country and his sister, when she most required counsel and protection, is inexplicable on any other supposition. In the meanwhile, the Earl of Lennox, finding Bothwell inaccessible, applied to Elizabeth to obtain by her mediation a delay of the trial, which he had once desired should be precipitated. To Mary herself he addressed not this request till the eleventh of April, "when," says Keith, "though the "Queen had been willing, she could not

* It has been pretended, that the Earl of Murray left his estate in trust to the Queen and Bothwell, but this is erroneous; the countess, his wife, remained in Scotland.

Digitized by Google

"have adjourned the Court." Neither does it appear in what manner an adjournment could ultimately have aided the Earl's cause, although it might have gratified his parental feelings, to fix the deeper stain on Bothwell's reputation.

On the 12th of April arrived Elizabeth's messenger with a letter * from his mistress, in which she urged on Mary the propriety of deferring the trial. After much difficulty, he found means to deliver his letter to Lethington, who dismissed him with a civil excuse; at the same moment, he observed a large party of cavaliers waiting to attend Bothwell to the Court of Justice; nor when that nobleman issued from the palace, did he fail to remark that he advanced between Maitland and Morton, followed by a train of gentlemen mounted on horseback, and supported by 4000 soldiers, who were cheered as they passed, by mercenaries posted in the streets for that purpose. On reaching the Tolbooth, Bothwell found the Earl of Argyle (who was the Hereditary Lord Justice), the Earl of Huntley, with four assessors, ready to receive him. The Dittay being read, charging Bothwell with

* See Drury's Letter to Cecil in Chalmers' Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 245. 4to. ed.

Digitized by Google

murder and treason, the accuser and accused were ordered to come forth. The Earl of Bothwell instantly obeyed; but instead of the Earl of Lennox, appeared his steward, Robert Cunningham, to protest in his master's name against the proceedings, and to demand a farther delay on the plea of illness, and because he had not been allowed to bring with him a sufficient number of friends and assistants.* The Lord Justice, who appears to have been apprised of this subterfuge, immediately produced the Earl's former letters, in which he had demanded a speedy trial, and consequently decided, that the assize should proceed; during these formalities, Bothwell was observed to look melancholy, and the Laird of Ormiston, one of his guilty colleagues, whispered in his ear a caution not to betray himself by that conscious countenance. †

"You might look so, and you were going "to the deed. Alas! and woe worth them, "that ever devised it. I trow it shall gar us

* On the very morning of the trial, the Earl was said to have been forbidden, in the Queen's name, from bringing with him more than six men: and the circumstance appears probable, considering that the trial was managed by Huntley, Morton, and Maitland.

† See the Confession of Ormiston, in Arnot's Criminal Trials.

Digitized by Google

" all mourn." To this, Bothwell, who had previously shewn him a bond of indemnity, to which many lords had affixed their signature, replied, " Hold your tongue; I would not it " were yet to do; — I have an airt gaite for " it, come what may." *

As neither witnesses nor proofs were produced against the culprit, the twelve peers had little difficulty in acquitting him of the charges †; and to atone for his mortification, they even declared him clear from suspicion of being in any way accessary to the murder: the assize lasted from twelve to seven in the evening ‡; and the verdict of acquittal was,

* Bothwell refers to the bond of indemnity which he had shewn to Ormiston, and which many of the nobles had subscribed.

† According to Keith, the indictment was informal, being for the 9th instead of the 10th of April. Doubtless by the contrivance of Morton.

‡ " The Earle Bothwell was acquitted by his peeres, " according to the common and ordinarie trade and " manner, in such cases usually observed. These un- " natural and disloyal subjects, these most shameful, " craftie colluders, her adversaries, and accusers, I meane " the Earle Morton, the Lord Semple, the Lord Lindzay, " with their adherents and affinitie, especially procured, " and with al diligence laboured his purgation and ac- " quital; which was afterward confirmed by the Three " Estates, by Acte of Parliament." — Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honor.

Digitized by Google

two days afterwards, confirmed by the Parliament, which declared the Earl Bothwell free from reproach.

The next day, Bothwell published a cartel, in which he challenged to single combat any who should dispute his innocence; and a week after, having invited to supper a party of nobles, he obtained their signatures to a bond recommending him as a suitable husband to the Queen their Sovereign. The Earl of Lennox had previously retired to England.* In the meanwhile the Queen consigned her son, with Stirling Castle, to the care of Murray's kinsman, the Earl of Mar; in whose custody he was to remain till he should have attained the age of seventeen.

In this instance only did Mary discover prudence; in every other she was swayed, as, unhappily, she had ever been, by her sympathies, her prejudices, her prepossessions; weaknesses not inexcusable in a young and lovely woman, but in a sovereign, no less pernicious than culpable. Whatever sentiments she had

* Buchanan pretends that the Queen took this step in order to obtain for Bothwell the possession of Edinburgh Castle, which on that occasion was ceded to him by the Earl of Mar. But if Mary at this time contemplated the probability of her immediate marriage, she committed a great oversight in surrendering her son to Murray's kinsman.

Digitized by Google

hitherto entertained for Bothwell, it was evident she now placed in him implicit trust, and looked to him alone for counsel and protection: yet the pride of royalty was deeply rooted in her mind; and not only her ambition, but her attachment to the antient faith forbade her to espouse a Scottish Earl, however brave and loyal, who would never forsake the sect whom his vices disgraced. The existence of the Lady Bothwell, who had married in obedience to the wishes of her family, formed perhaps but a minor objection, so many other obstacles opposed their union. But the ambitious Bothwell, who relied on the interest he had gained in her affections, and who had access to attendants, willing to encourage his presumption, having collected forces against the banditti in Liddisdale, intercepted the Queen at Almond Bridge, dispersed her retinue, and conducted herself, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melvil, to Dunbar Castle.

By whatever pretence Mary was induced to put herself in the Earl's power, she appears not to have made an effort to obtain her liberation; nor the next day, when Maitland and Melville were dismissed, did she transmit any message to complain of her captivity.* The

* It is demonstrated by Dr. Lingard, that Maitland continued in the castle with his mistress.

Digitized by Google

ridiculous plea offered by Bothwell, for this outrage, was the necessity of his committing the offence of treason, in order that he might be acquitted of all minor trespasses. According to Mary's statement *, it was then that he first proposed marriage, supporting his pretensions by the bond to which the nobles had affixed their signature. "She professes to "have been astonished at his audacity, but "that, on seeing the bond, she became intimidated; and that, finally, reflecting on the "difficulties of her situation, she was persuaded to yield a reluctant assent." †

* Instructions to the Ambassadors in France.

† In his Defence of Queen Mary's Honor, Lesley says, "she did consent to that, to which those crafty colluding "heads and the state of the times did in a manner enforce "her." In her instructions to the ambassadors in France, Mary adds, "that during ten days none came to her aid;" she is evidently impressed with the apprehension, that by her marriage she should endanger her reputation in France. It is worthy of remark, that she appears much less anxious to secure the good opinion of Elizabeth, to whom she merely states by her ambassador, that she found herself incompetent to the government of the realm, without a husband's protection. She praises Bothwell's valour, but never mentions his carrying her to Dunbar castle; and she even justifies her marriage with a man lately divorced from another woman,—a subject not even mentioned to her friends in France. In both memorials she intimates, that she is wearied and overwhelmed with the burthen of affairs; expressions which occur also in the

Digitized by Google

During the ten days that Mary was detained in Dunbar Castle, Bothwell instituted a suit for divorce from his wife in the Bishop's Court *, on the grounds of consanguinity; whilst the lady herself sued for divorce in the Queen's Court, on the plea of adultery. On leaving Dunbar, the Queen was conveyed to Edinburgh, not to the palace but the castle, which was in Bothwell's possession. On the 12th of May, she declared before the Sessions House, that she was free, and that she consented to marry the Earl Bothwell; and the next day, actually created him Duke of Orkney. The history of this disgraceful transaction affords one example of integrity strikingly contrasted with the conduct of those perfidious and venal nobles, who, without scruple, sacrificed the honour of their native Sovereign. The only individual by whom they were opposed was John Craig, a popular preacher, who refused to publish the banns between the Queen and Bothwell, and even before the privy council maintained that the marriage was illegal and dishonourable.

In spite of his opposition the preliminaries

---

instrument of her pretended resignation. See Keith, p. 431.

* The Consistorial Court, lately re-established, at the earnest solicitation of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

Digitized by Google

proceeded, and finally, on the 15th of May, Mary was married privately in her own chapel, and publicly in the High Church, by the Bishop of Orkney. On this occasion no royal splendour appears to have been exhibited; there was neither ball nor banquet; no foreign ambassadors*, and few of the Catholic nobility attended; according to Melvil, who was present, the Duke of Orkney supped alone, the Queen having withdrawn to another apartment. From this moment the unhappy story of Mary becomes intricate, and almost inexplicable: instead of evincing for her husband that inordinate affection imputed to her by Buchanan, she was every day seen to weep, and more than once threatened to destroy her existence. According to the statement of Morton and his associates, she was treated by the execrable Bothwell as his hostage; and, to prevent her escape, sentinels were planted at the door of her chamber, which none but his creatures presumed to approach.† There is little in

* The absence of the French ambassador is obviously to be attributed to his not having received any instructions from his court; and probably, also, from the suspicion that the marriage, on the Queen's part, was compulsory.

† This fact was so notorious, that even Cecil, in his paper Contra Reginam Scotorum, admits it. See Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 101.

Digitized by Google

this gloomy picture that accords with the violent passion to which she is supposed to have sacrificed every sentiment of honor and duty; perhaps the most wretched portion of Mary's whole existence was the month she passed with Bothwell, after her disgraceful marriage. Not daring to trust his late confederates, the Duke of Orkney attempted to draw the young Prince into his possession, believing that, under the title of Regent, he might secure that authority, which he foresaw would not be long vested in him as the Queen's husband. The Earl Morton and his friends, eagerly seizing the occasion, raised the standard of revolt, and collected at Stirling, avowedly to protect the young Prince, to revenge his father's death, and even to redeem from thraldom their injured Queen, whom they now declared to have been taken against her will to Dunbar, and to have espoused by compulsion the murderer of her late husband.* With these plausible professions they gave to treason a gloss of loyalty, and drew to their party many who were either too cautious, or too scrupulous, to have openly patronized rebellion; nor did Morton waste one moment in useless deliberation, but with that

* Melvil.—See also the Band of Association, in Anderson's Collections, vol. i.; and in Keith, p. 405. See the Answer of the Lords to Throckmorton; Keith, p. 418.

Digitized by Google

bold decision which characterized all his movements, led his troops towards Holyrood House, from which the Queen and Bothwell with difficulty escaped to Borthwick: from thence Bothwell withdrew to Dunbar, and Mary, who justly dreaded Morton and his colleagues, had no alternative but to follow, disguised in men's clothes, to Dunbar Castle. From thence Bothwell circulated in her name a manifesto, disclaiming the imputations of their mutual enemies, and challenging the loyalty of her faithful subjects.

In the meanwhile, the confederates marched to Edinburgh, obtained from Bothwell's treacherous friend, Sir James Balfour, the surrender of the castle, and, in the name of the young Prince, marched against their Sovereign. It was on the 16th of June that the two armies were confronted, the royalists being posted on Carberry-Hill, the confederates on the plain beneath; but, although Bothwell brought the Queen into the field, her presence inspired no enthusiasm. By their looks, the soldiers expressed disaffection; many were seen to retire, none seemed willing to advance. In this embarrassment, Bothwell offered to fight any who should presume to charge him with the King's murder; but successively rejected several nobles who would

Digitized by Google

have accepted the challenge. The French ambassador, Le Croc, after an unavailing attempt to mediate between the two parties, returned to Edinburgh; and the Queen, perceiving resistance hopeless, desired to confer with the Laird of Grange, by whom she was solemnly assured, that the confederates had not taken up arms against her, but Bothwell; and that, if she consented to forsake him, they should receive her with respect, and offer to her allegiance. After some hesitation, Mary replied, "she would embrace the overture, on "condition that Bothwell should be suffered "to pass unmolested from the field." Kirkaldy having pledged himself for his safety, the Queen bade him, adieu! and having watched till he had cleared the lines, calmly said, — "To you, Laird of Grange, and to your honor, "I render myself." Kirkaldy conducted her with profound respect to the confederates, where, with that dignity which was now to be her substitute for authority, she thus addressed them: "I come, my Lords, not that I fear for "my life, not that I doubt of victory, but be- "cause I abhor the shedding of Christian "blood, much more that of my own subjects. "I come, therefore, to be governed by your "counsels, trusting you will treat me as your "native Princess." The Earl of Morton re-

Digitized by Google

ceived her with reverence, the soldiers with respect. — The march commenced; from the Queen's manner, it was supposed, she anticipated a rescue, and in reality a party composed of the Hamiltons had advanced for that purpose, but she was soon convinced her expectations were hopeless. When she approached the capital, a new trial awaited her, and she beheld the multitude poured forth, not to relieve or even to commiserate her distresses, but to display before her eyes a bloody ensign, on which was represented, the young Prince kneeling and invoking vengeance on the authors of his father's murder. At this frightful image, Mary almost fell from her horse, and, bursting into an agony of tears, exclaimed, — "I am your native Princess! "descended from the blood of Bruce! Treat "me not thus!" Her appeal was unregarded. Even in the women, — her dishevelled hair, her tears, her anguish, awakened no pity; and she proceeded, amidst loud execrations, till she reached the Provost's house, where she was lodged for that night.

The next day, in direct violation of their promises *, the confederates conveyed the

* When Kirkaldy resented this perfidy, the Lords (says Melvil) produced a letter from the Queen to Bothwell, assuring him of her constant love; but this letter is

Digitized by Google

royal captive to the Castle of Lochleven, of which Sir William Douglas was the possessor; and where, in addition to his mother, (that haughty dame, who never ceased to assert that she was the lawful wife of James the Fifth,) were two other gaolers, the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, who had both been present at Rizio's assassination, the father of the latter having died in exile. To this prison arrived Mary, on the 18th of June — no longer attired as a Queen, but in a coarse cassock — her retinue reduced to a cook, an apothecary, and two female servants. *

Hitherto the confederates had not ventured to announce that which was their ultimate object, the Queen's dethronement: they professed to have taken up arms, to separate her from her husband's murderer; and to have placed her in confinement, only that they might be permitted to punish the original delinquent;

---

not mentioned by other writers; neither, if it were authenticated, could it excuse the perfidy committed against her. Besides, the same Melvil assures us, that far from loving Bothwell, after her marriage she shewed for him terror and disgust; and that even at Carberry-Hill, when he offered to shoot Kirkaldy, she rebuked him with vehemence.

* History of James the Sixth. — Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honor. — Keith.

Digitized by Google

but, now that she was in their power, they proceeded to extort the surrender of her crown, — an act which to the Queen of England, and to the other Potentates of Europe, was to be represented as a voluntary abdication. In this well-concerted plan, it is impossible not to recognize able statesmen, and profound politicians. The suffrage of the lower order had been previously gained by plausible representations, mingled with calumnies against the Queen's character; but the Lords were sensible that better proofs would ultimately be required to justify the violence committed and intended. It was on the 18th of June that they placed the Queen in Lochleven, and on the 20th they were so fortunate as to discover in Edinburgh Castle a gilt casket *, formerly the property of Francis the

* "It is forsooth, a boxe of letters taken from one "Daighleysh, who was executed for the Lorde Darnley's "death, the Earles man, for sooth; whiche letters he "received at Edenborough of one Sir James Balfoure, "to convey to his master; Thus say they, but we say to "you, as is sayd in Terence, Non sunt hæc satis divisa "temporibus. The very time, if nothing else were, "bewraieth you, and your whole cause withal. Is it to "be thought, that either the Earle would send to the "said Sir James, who had before assisted the faction "against the Quene with the force and strength of Eden-"borough Castle, and driven from thence the very Earle

Digitized by Google

Second, containing letters supposed to be addressed by the Queen to Bothwell, which, whether spurious or genuine, were admirably calculated to give a plea of justice to their illegal proceedings.*

" himselfe, or that the said Sir James would send any " such thing to the Earle? is it likely? is it credible? " Had the forger and inventour of this tale, by seemely " conveyance parted and divided the distinction of his " times? How say ye? Whereas nowe it is in no case to " be supposed or conjectured that such a wise vertuous " ladie would sende any such letters; yet putting the " case, that she had sent them, it is not to be thought, " that either the receaver thereof, or that she herselfe, " whom ye conceave to have sent them, would have suf- " fered them, for the hasarding of her estimation and " honour, to remaine undefaced, namely, seeing there " was a special mention made, and warning given forth- " with to burn them." — Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honor. — Anderson's Collections, vol. i.

* Without entering into the controversy respecting the genuineness of those letters, it may be fairly presumed that the sight of the casket, by whatever means obtained, suggested the happy expedient of making it the depositary of the Queen's secrets; for even admitting that she should have been vile enough to write the letters, and that Bothwell should have had the temerity to preserve them; was it possible that Mary should have suffered these memorials of her infamy to remain enshrined in the casket which she had given him as a token of regard? It is notorious, that Dagleish, the messenger, who is said to have been the bearer of this casket, was never ex-

Digitized by Google

Such a felicitous coincidence inevitably leads to the suspicion, that the confederates calculated on the circumstance, and that, to them at least, this amatory correspondence contained no novelty. Fortified with these documents, the Earl of Morton instructed the Queen's gaolers to demand that she should resign her crown to the infant James; but Mary, who too late recalled her dignity, passionately exclaimed, "Never, but with my life, will I "part with the crown of my ancestors." By the persuasions of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who in his letters assured her that no compulsory abdication was valid, she at length yielded however to necessity, and the brutal menaces of Lord Lindsay; and, without glancing at their contents, affixed her signature to three deeds, inwhich she surrendered her rights to her son, and committed the regency to the Earl of Murray, or if it should be by him declined, to a select council. When the sacrifice was accomplished, Mary dried her eyes, and, resuming

---

amined on that subject; the whole story rests on the authority of the Earl of Morton, who professed to have received it from Dagleish. See this subject ably discussed in Tytler's Enquiry; in Whitaker's Vindication; Laing's Dissertation, prefixed to his continuation of Robertson's History; and recently in Chalmer's Life of Mary.

Digitized by Google

her courage, wrote to the confederates *, requesting to be removed to a more healthy spot, to be allowed the society of her ladies, and materials for embroidery, with which to beguile her confinement. The last of these requisitions only was granted; her removal would have been unsafe, to indulge her with companions was deemed imprudent. †

It might appear extraordinary, that no champion should stand forth for the unfortunate Queen; but let it be recollected, that the majority of the nobles were attached to the Reformers, and that among the Catholics no powerful leader remained to inspire confidence and energy in her dispirited or lukewarm friends. Among her kinsmen, the complex motives of selfishness or pusillanimity operated to the prejudice of her interest. The Hamiltons calculated where they should have acted, and the Earl of Argyle vacillated between the ties of affinity and the sympathies of religious association. Among the citizens of Edinburgh there was, however, no eagerness to introduce or adopt a new order of things, and it required all the eloquence of Knox, enforced by the authority of the kirk, and the activity of faction, to create and keep alive the persuasion

* See Keith.

† She was however visited by Lady Murray.

Digitized by Google

that Mary had actually been accessary to the murder of her husband, or that the sovereign was equally amenable with the subject to a criminal tribunal. It was also a circumstance highly advantageous to her enemies, that their actual views were disguised under the specious pretext of executing justice on Bothwell, a measure to which they represented the Queen to be utterly averse, and which, in reality, they so little meant to accomplish, that during several weeks he was suffered to remain unmolested.

Hitherto every effort of the confederates had been successful; but, until the young Prince should be crowned, they felt not secure of triumph. Even this difficulty was surmounted by the firmness of Morton, and his colleagues.* Deaf to the remonstrances of Throckmorton, who, on the part of Elizabeth, solemnly protested against her cousin's dethronement †, but

* The Lords Glencairn, Rothes, Semple, Hume, Mar, and Ochiltree.

† When Throckmorton applied for an answer to the demands of Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Morton answered, "that shortly he should hear from them; but "that day being destined to the *communion, continual* "*preaching,* and *common prayer, they could not be absent,* "*nor attend to the matters of the world; for first they* "*must seek the matters of God, and take counsel of Him* "*who could best direct them.*" — Keith, Preface, page xi.

Digitized by Google

whom Morton and Maitland appear to have reconciled to the measure, the confederates convened the Barons, the ministers *of the Evangile* wrought upon the sympathies and prejudices of the people, and, finally, on the 29th of July, the infant James was crowned at Stirling; — where Knox, in preaching the coronation sermon, enjoyed the proudest triumph of his life.

It is natural to enquire in what manner that day passed with the deposed Queen, and how she survived the blow. It has been sometimes found, that a single passion more completely exhausts the faculties of human endurance, than a combination of calamities the most terrible and overwhelming. At Craigmillar, when the Queen only suffered from Darnley's wayward-ness, she seemed hastening to an untimely grave; — during her brief union with Bothwell, she was almost driven to self-destruction; — but now, that all save life was lost, that, blasted in fame and fortune, she saw herself dispos-

---

On the other hand, Maitland dissembled not the perplexity that prevailed among the leaders of his party, and in a conversation with Throckmorton persisted that he and Morton were still strongly attached to their Sovereign, but that they were playing a desperate game. — See Keith; Preface.

Digitized by Google

sessed of her crown, exiled from her friends, bereaved even of her child—she not only endured, but anxiously studied to preserve existence. It should seem, that a strong sense of injustice sustained her faltering courage, and that hope was rekindled by resentment.

The arrival of Murray was anticipated by either party with equal impatience. From the memorable hour of Rizio's murder, that nobleman's conduct had been equivocal, if not mysterious. Sensible that his political power and dignity depended exclusively on his personal influence with the reforming party, he cautiously disclaimed participation in measures repugnant to the sanctity of his moral and religious character. In the mutual quarrels of the King and Queen he had been strictly neutral. Though hostile to Darnley, he acceded not to the conspiracy for his death, but was evidently no stranger to its existence. To the ambitious views of Bothwell he offered no impediment, yet clandestinely announced them to the English Queen, who believed him to be interested in the preservation of his sister's reputation. In France he seemed not to approve of Morton's conduct, and on his departure pledged himself to defend his sovereign's rights and honor. In England, he concealed his real intentions from Cecil and

Digitized by Google

Elizabeth; to Morton and his associates, who, having achieved that which he would have scrupled to attempt, required him but to sanction their proceedings, he would give no definitive answer until he should have visited the royal captive at Lochleven. That Mary continued to regard him as her friend was evident, from the cordiality of his reception; although the Earls Athol and Morton were his unwelcome companions. When Murray had before seen Mary in captivity, he wept *; but now, though torrents of tears fell from her eyes, she obtained from him neither looks nor expressions of sympathy. Impatient of the restraint imposed by witnesses, she took him apart, and they communed together till supper; but he little answered her expectations—his reserve was impenetrable. After supper, she again challenged a private interview, which lasted till midnight. The Earl then opened, but it was only to upbraid and intimidate. "He† spoke "to her" (adds Throckmorton) "as her "ghostly father, exhorting to patience and re- "pentance. The Queen wept bitterly: some- "times she acknowledged her unadvisedness "and misgovernment; some things she did con-

* After Rizio's assassination.

† Keith, page 445.

Digitized by Google

" fess plainly, some things she did excuse, some " things she did extenuate. In conclusion, the " Earl of Murray left her that night, in hope of " nothing but God's mercy, willing her to seek " that as her chief refuge, and so departed."

The next morning, when they renewed the conference, Murray, finding Mary's spirit subdued, administered consolation, assured her of life, and pledged himself, if possible, to preserve her honor. Even for this promise she showed gratitude, and clasping him in her arms, conjured him, for her son's sake, to accept the Regency, and to preserve the kingdom from rebellion. " The Earl," says Throckmorton, " declared many reasons why " he should refuse it." The Queen, regarding him as less inimical to her interests than the confederates, persisted in her entreaties; and, finally, after a decorous resistance, he granted the boon, suppressing the satisfaction he secretly experienced. When the Earls Athol and Murray were about to take leave, Mary said, with touching pathos, " Of my severity, " my Lords, you have had experience, and " of the end of it. I pray you also, let me " find that you have learned by me to make " an end of yours; or, at least, that you can " make it final." But it was not till Murray gave to Ruthven and Lindsay a parting in-

Digitized by Google

junction to treat her kindly, that Mary felt, in all its bitterness, that she was held in ignominious captivity by her own subjects, men notoriously criminal, and who had lately sued to her clemency. For a moment she yielded to this impression in an agony of tears; but, quickly resuming her composure, besought Murray to bear her blessing to her dear son. The next day she wrote to desire him to take charge of her jewels and other valuables*, with which requisition the Earl complied, and on the 19th, having formally accepted the Regency, took possession of the magnificent state-chamber in which the Queen in the preceding year had given birth to her infant successor.

It is not uncommon to see the unfortunate pass from the extremes of confidence to distrust, and Mary, whose susceptible nature was at once credulous and suspicious, soon became acquainted with circumstances that for ever dissipated her illusions respecting Murray's friendship. In the ensuing Parliament, the Act of Resignation was produced, and would have been registered without examination, but that the Elders of the Church, not approving of this delicate reservation,

* Murray afterwards sent to Lochleven a large part of the Queen's wardrobe.

Digitized by Google

demanded of the privy-council, why their sovereign was kept in Lochleven? by that question they extorted a declaration of her having been convicted, by certain written proofs, of participation in her husband's murder. It is easy to detect in this procedure, the independent spirit of Knox; but, to have been consistent, when he demanded that the Sovereign should be amenable to the laws, he ought to have challenged for her a public trial, instead of a private accusation.* Of Bothwell so little was known after the Queen's imprisonment, that he seemed almost forgotten; and so far was Morton from pursuing with his accustomed energy the murderer of Darnley, that he suffered him to remain till the 26th of June in Dunbar Castle, and then gently summoned him to surrender the fortress; nor was it till several days after that Bothwell embarked for Murray, where he lingered many weeks under the protection of his uncle the bishop. From thence he departed to Orkney,

* Mr. Chalmers adduces strong arguments to prove that the contents of the casket never were produced to the parliament; the facts of the letters having been written and received, was established on the unqualified testimony of the confederates. Thus Bothwell's previous acquittal, and the Queen's conviction, were conducted on principles equally arbitrary.

Digitized by Google

where, having learnt that a squadron was fitted out for his interception, he was compelled to retake to his ships, one of which perished in a tempest. To repair the loss, he boarded a Danish ship, but being afterwards captured by a Norwegian vessel, was conveyed to Denmark, imprisoned on the charge of piracy, and finally consigned to a rigorous and interminable captivity. After Bothwell's departure from Scotland, Captain Blackadder was tried and condemned for Darnley's murder, but persisted in maintaining his innocence. Dagleish was also executed, as were Powrie, Hepburn*, and several others, some of whom, although they confessed their own guilt, positively denied the Queen's participation in their crime.

In the month of March, the Regent went again to Lochleven; in this interview we hear of no tears, no tenderness. The Queen simply reminded him of the violation of his word; and then, it may be presumed, with irony, entreated, that he would give her a husband, alleging that she should like to espouse his half-brother, George Douglas†, a youth of eighteen. This attack the Regent

* See Anderson's Collections.

† Drury to Cecil, in Keith, page 469.

Digitized by Google

parried by observing, that his brother was not of rank to match with her Grace.

A few days after this interview, Mary having exchanged clothes with her laundress, and disguised her features with an enormous muffler, deceived the vigilance of her sentinels, and almost stooping beneath the weight of a bundle of linen, entered a boat, which was about to be rowed ashore, and had actually reached the middle of the lake, when she was discovered by inadvertently raising to her cheek a hand of snowy whiteness. In a second attempt, planned by George Douglas, she was alike unsuccessful; and for his friendly offices, that amiable youth was expelled the castle, but not before he had secured to her interests another Douglas, an orphan boy, who had from infancy lived in the family, a poor dependent on the Lord of Lochleven.

Of any new enterprise, however, Mary was so little sanguine, that, on the first of May, (the eve of her deliverance,) she wrote to Catherine de Medicis* that she was watched night and day, the girls of the castle sleeping in her chamber; and that, unless the French King interposed, she should remain in prison for life. The next afternoon, William Dou-

* Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau.

Digitized by Google

glas had the address to steal the keys from the hall in which Sir William and his mother were sitting at supper; the Queen at the appointed signal once more descended with her female attendant to the lake, where a little boat was waiting, into which they both eagerly entered; the maiden assisted the youth in rowing, and when they approached the shore he flung into the lake* the keys of the castle they had just quitted. Another coadjutor in this enterprize, was John Beaton, who had held frequent communication with George Douglas; and, by his assistance, provided horses to facilitate the Queen's deliverance. Scarcely had she landed, when, by their care, she was mounted on a palfrey, and conveyed to Niddry, the seat of Lord Seaton; where, surrounded by affectionate friends, Mary might repeat with ecstacy, "I am once more a Queen!" How often, in succeeding years of captivity, must the recollection of that rapturous welcome have imparted a momentary sensation of pleasure to her oppressed heart!

After a halt of three hours, she proceeded to Hamilton, where having solemnly revoked her compulsory abdication, she dis-

* These keys were found the 20th October 1805, and delivered to Mr. Taylor, of Kinross, by whom they were presented to the Earl of Morton.

Digitized by Google

patched a messenger to the Regent, to demand the restitution of her crown. Every moment was now big with interest; the nobles promised allegiance; John Beaton departed for England, to solicit aid from Elizabeth; native troops crowded to the Queen's banner, and, in a few days, 6000 men were assembled. But, unfortunately, there was neither a Morton nor a Murray to direct their movements; those brave followers were without an efficient chief; neither prudence nor energy prevailed in their deliberations; and whilst the Queen entreated to be conveyed to Dumbarton, the rash counsels of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who projected the Queen's marriage with his nephew, Lord Arbroath, precipitated the fatal battle of Langside.

It is only for the imagination to follow Mary through the rapid vicissitudes, the agonizing emotions that twelve eventful days were destined to produce. On the second of May, she had almost by miracle escaped from her prison; on the thirteenth, she witnessed the dispersion of the army so suddenly created, and fled, with precipitation, to Dundrennan Abbey*, from whence she directed her mournful eyes towards the English coast; and, peremp-

* Dundrennan Abbey, near Kircudbright, in Galloway.

Digitized by Google

torily rejecting Archbishop Hamilton's advice to remain in Scotland, rashly resolved to throw herself on the friendship of Elizabeth. This design was no sooner formed than executed; and, without even waiting for the return of the messenger who had been sent to enquire whether she should be permitted to remain in safety at Carlisle, she embarked in a fishing boat, deaf to the prayers, untouched by the warning admonitions of her afflicted kinsman, who, with tears in his eyes, pronounced an eternal adieu; little suspecting that the princess, to whom he predicted captivity or death, should so soon have to deplore his more ignominious fate, and so long survive the memory of his untimely grave.*

By her fatal precipitation, Mary missed the messenger who was actually journeying towards her from Elizabeth, with unlimited offers of service, on the single condition that no French troops should be admitted into Scotland. Ignorant of this circumstance, the fugitive Princess embarked, and landed on the 15th of May; she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, accompanied by the good Lord Herries, and about twenty other attendants, including the

* The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was executed in 1573, for having been *arte* and *parte* in Darnley's murder.

Digitized by Google

faithful William Douglas, and one of the companions of her childhood, the amiable Mary Seaton.

Destitute of money, clothes, or any appendage of royalty, the unfortunate Queen would fain have concealed the rank she could so ill represent; but rumour whispered her approach, and she was soon surrounded by the neighbouring nobility and gentry, who, with great respect, attended her to Cockermouth, from whence she was conducted to the Castle of Carlisle. Her first impression of England must have been highly flattering; and had the sincerity of its government corresponded with the hospitality of the people, Mary would have had no cause to repent of her gratuitous confidence. In justice to Elizabeth, it must however be observed, that by her first impulse she appears to have been prompted to receive the royal fugitive with sympathizing kindness. Alarmed by the example of successful rebellion, and touched perhaps with the distresses of a sister Queen, she dispatched the Lady Scroop, the sister of the Duke of Norfolk, and several other accomplished women, to the Queen of Scots, with assurances of friendship and commiseration. But, as Elizabeth never acted without the advice of her council, her feelings were soon checked by their cautious suggestions; and,

Digitized by Google

foreseeing the embarrassments that must inevitably arise from personal intercourse with the deposed Sovereign, she allowed Cecil to dictate the answer, which was to be transmitted through the medium of Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knolles. During those critical deliberations, Mary, without permitting herself to anticipate disappointment, exerted all those powers of captivation she so eminently possessed with her English friends; walked out to witness the popular pastimes, and, by her animated conversation, supplied an inexhaustible fund of interest and amusement. Amongst her few Scottish attendants, were Lord and Lady Livingston, Lord Fleming, and the maid of honor before-mentioned, Mary Seaton, who excelled as a tire-woman, and, every other day, contrived for the Queen a peruke of hair, "which, without expence," says Knolles, "sets off a woman, and makes her look gaily "well."

When Elizabeth's messengers arrived, they were ushered into Mary's *chamber of presence.* In describing the interview, Knolles, without wasting one word on her beauty, expatiates on her energy and eloquence. *

"We found her in her answers to have an "eloquent tongue and a discreet head; and it

* Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

Digitized by Google

" seemeth by her doings, that she hath stout
" courage and liberal heart adjoined there-
" unto; and, after our delivery of your High-
" ness's letters, she fell into some passion,
" with the water in her eyes; and therewith,
" she drew us with her into her bed-chamber,
" where she complained unto us, for that your
" Highness did not answer her expectations,
" for the admitting her into your presence
" forthwith; that upon good declaration of
" her innocence, your Highness would either
" without delay give her aid yourself, to
" the subduing her enemies, or else, being
" now come of good will, and not of ne-
" cessity into your hands, (for a good and
" greatest part of her subjects, said she,
" remain fast to her still,) your High-
" ness would, at least, forthwith give her pas-
" sage through your country into France, to
" seek aid at other princes' hands; not doubt-
" ing, but both the French King, and the
" King of Spain, would give her relief to her
" satisfaction. And here she fell into dis-
" courses, that the cause of the war and dis-
" obedient treasons of these her subjects, was
" thereby to keep that which she had too
" liberally given them by violence; since,
" through her revocation whereof, when of
" full age, they could not enjoy the same

Digitized by Google

"by law; and withal (she affirmed,) that "both Lethington and the Lord Morton "were assisting to the murder of her hus- "band."

Although Mary's eyes were now opened to the consequences of her ill-advised rashness, she continued to waste the precious moments in eloquent invective and impassioned tears. It is true, she protested, that she would seek redress from every potentate in Christendom, nor reject it even from the Grand Turk; that she would rather die than submit to her rebels; that she would authorize the Hamiltons to prosecute her claims in Scotland, and that she would even ruin herself to subvert Murray's government. But after these ebullitions of passion had subsided, she consumed in negociation the time that should have been given to action, in addressing pathetic appeals to Charles the Fourth of France, and spirited but unavailing remonstrances to the Queen of England.*

It is a pleasing trait of Mary's character, that, in the bitterness of her own disappointment, she did not forget her obligations to young Douglas, whom she earnestly recommended

* In her letters to Elizabeth, she declares, that the nobility were all loyal, with the exception of Murray, Morton, Mar, Hume, Semple, and Glencairn.

Digitized by Google

to the French King, as the individual who had been most instrumental in effecting her deliverance.

"Beaton and Seaton," she writes, "have "done much, but Douglas more than any; "since, at the risque of his life, and to the "ruin of his fortunes, he rescued me from the "hands of my mortal enemies. I beseech "you," she continues, with a womanly feeling, "to shew, by some public token of re-"gard, that you feel somewhat obliged to "him for my sake."

In her letters to the English Queen, Mary insisted on the injuries she had received from Morton and his confederates *, whom she had pardoned at Elizabeth's especial intercessions, and appeals to her sense of justice, whether she is not bound, in some degree, to repair the evils which she has innocently occasioned? In another letter, she indignantly disclaims the idea of disgracing her kinswoman,

* This assertion, so often reiterated, agrees not with Dr. Roberton's suggestion, that Mary had pardoned Morton exclusively through the intercession of Bothwell. Mr. Chalmers demonstrates, that it was rather to the influence of Murray than of Bothwell, but still more to the representations of Elizabeth, that she made the concession. (See also Melvil.) The court of France had also recommended the measure. (See Keith's preface, page vi.)

Digitized by Google

"Alas, madam, and when was blame imputed to any prince, for listening in person, to the complaints of those whom calumny has outraged? Dismiss from your mind the idea, that I came hither to save my life, a boon, that no country, not even Scotland, denied me; think only, that I come to vindicate my honor, to gain support against my false accusers; not to explain to them, as if we were of equal rank; since, I well know, they have violated the duty they owed me as their native sovereign. To judge my cause, I have chosen you, above all others, as my kinswoman and best friend. In making this election, I rather meant to offer a tribute of voluntary homage, than to inflict the penalty of disgrace." *

By throwing herself on Elizabeth's protection, Mary had placed the English government in an awkward predicament. To espouse the Queen's cause, was to level a fatal blow at the Protestant party, which flourished under the Regent's administration. Totally to reject her suit, was to hold out to France a temptation to annoy England by invading Scotland.

In this embarrassment, nothing remained but to temporize; and whilst Sir Henry Norris, the English envoy at Paris, was required

* See Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

Digitized by Google

to fathom the intentions of the French cabinet, Sir Francis Knolles was instructed to amuse the Queen of Scots, and to endeavour to obtain, by persuasion, the voluntary confirmation of the surrender of the crown, formerly extorted at Lochleven. To the honor of Sir Francis, his manly feelings revolted from artifice, and he ventured to affirm, that it was far better to be an open enemy than a treacherous friend.

"And yet this lady and Princess," he writes to Cecil, "is a notable woman; she "seemeth to regard no ceremonious honor, "besides the acknowledging of her estate "royal; she sheweth a disposition to speak "much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to "be very familiar; she sheweth a very great "desire to be avenged of her enemies; she "sheweth a readiness to expose herself to all "perils in hope of victory; she desireth much "to hear of hardiness and valiancy, com-"mending by name all approved men of her "country, although they be her enemies; "and she concealeth no cowardice, even in "her friends. The thing that most she thirst-"eth after is victory; and it seemeth to be "indifferent to her, to have her enemies di-"minished, either by the sword of her friends, "or by the liberal promises and rewards

Digitized by Google

" of her purse, or by divisions and quarrels " raised amongst themselves; so that for vic- " tory's sake, pain and peril seem pleasant " unto her; and in respect of victory, health " and all things seem to her contemptuous " and vile. Now what is to be done with " such a lady and Princess? or whether such a " Princess and lady is to be nourished in one's " bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dis- " semble, I defer to your judgment. If her " Highness think it good to stay the coming in " of the French into Scotland; if her High- " ness think any peril towards her; if her High- " ness think any Princes and Potentates, or " that any factious subjects may conspire " against her; then, I am sure, she will " think it good policy, roundly and plainly, " to assist her own course, without colours " and cloaks, that hide no man's eyes but " those that are blind; and, surely, the plain- " est way is the most honourable. In my " simple opinion, I take it an honourable " quarrel for her Highness to expel the " French; and the easiest way thereto, is to " aid and countenance the Regent in time; " and if the spots in this Queen's coat be " manifest, the plainer and sooner that her " Highness does reveal her discontent there- " with, the more honourable it will be, I sup-

Digitized by Google

" pose; and it is the readiest way to stop the " mouths of factious murmuring subjects." *

Sir Henry Norris having easily quieted Cecil's apprehensions respecting the interference of the French cabinet, concurred with Knolles, in advising that the Queen of Scots should be allowed free egress; but the Secretary replied, that such was not the general opinion, and that for himself, he *found neither her continuance good, nor her departing quiet.* † The conduct of Mary during this emergency was such as little justified the impressions she had at first given of her political ability. Instead of returning to Scotland, where her partisans began to manifest considerable activity, she contented herself with obtaining, through the mediation of the English government, a promise from Mary that offensive operations against them should be suspended. Instead therefore of adhering to her first resolution, never to advance beyond Carlisle but for the express purpose of seeing Elizabeth, she suffered herself to be conducted to Bolton Castle, the seat of Lord

* Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. page 73.—In a subsequent letter, Sir Francis Knolles calculates, that if Mary were permitted to pass to France, she would be forced to spend her dowry; whereas, if she were detained in England, she would expend it in fomenting disturbances in Scotland.

† Cabala.

Digitized by Google

Scroop, in whose brother-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk, she perhaps believed she had secured a guarantee for her safety.* She listened to the English ministers, and, to sum up the catalogue of her errors and misfortunes, consented to submit her disputes with Murray to the arbitration of the English sovereign.

With the late proceedings in Scotland, and the charges which had been brought forward

* From Carlisle Mary addressed the following letter to the Lord Argyle, in whose loyalty, notwithstanding his attachment to the kirk, she reposed implicit confidence.

To oure derrest Cousing the Erle of Argyle.

" Derrest Cousing, we haif writtin to you laitly anent " our proceidingis ewer thanking zow of zour greit con- " stancy towartis ws. And now being, thankis to God, in " gud helth, we thocht necessare to aduerteis zow of the " samyn as we beleif ye are desyreous to heir thairof. " My Lord Flemyng arrevit heir from Londoun the v. of " this instant, and is past in Scotland, quha will schaw yow " all our affaires mair amply and at mair lenth than we " think expedient to wryt at this tyme, to whom ze sall " gif credeit. My Lord Hereiss† hes writtin to ws that our " sister the quene hes declarit to him scho hes writtin to " my lord of Murraye expressly, that he use na forder " extremitie aganis yow our fauouraris and trew sub- " jectis. Swa committis zow to the protectioun of God " Almychtie. Off Carleill, the vij of Julij, 1568,

" Zour gud sister,

" MARIE, R."

Copied from a manuscript in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Argyle.

† Lord Herries.

Digitized by Google

against Queen Mary, no English gentleman was now unacquainted. The contents of the casket had been communicated to Cecil* and his partisans, before Elizabeth proposed to challenge Murray to answer for his usurpation of his sister's authority; promising, *if he* gave not sufficient reasons for his usurpation, that she would re-seat the Queen on the throne of her ancestors. Confiding in the justice of her cause, and in the sympathies common to royalty, Mary was credulous enough to accept the offered mediation; and commissioners were appointed on either side to support the interests of the disputing parties. But Mary little suspected, that with the exception of Norris and Knolles, all the members of Elizabeth's council concurred in voting for her detention, as a measure of political expediency; for which it was only necessary to discover a colourable pretext. Of the sinister intrigues, and vacillating fac-

* In a paper dated June, Cecil sums up every thing that could be stated *pro* and *contrâ* the Queen of Scots. But he appears to have been perplexed in what manner to reconcile to Elizabeth's doctrine of the divine rights of sovereigns, the rendering Mary amenable to any human tribunal. To obviate the difficulty, he, at length, concludes, "that having made her husband king, he naturally became her superior; and that therefore she was "to be held guilty if she should be found to have procured his murder." — Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

Digitized by Google

tions existing in Scotland, a masterly exposition is given by Arundel, Earl of Sussex; in which, having premised that the matter must rest, either in declaring the Queen of Scots guilty, or by some compositions, with a shew of saving her honour, he observes, " that the first could " scarcely be attempted, since she might " deny the letters, *and accuse the most of* " *them, her accusers, of manifest consent to* " *the murder, hardly to be denied.* That the " uncertainty of the young King's life ren- " dered it advisable, even to Murray's fac- " tion, to save her honour; since, in the " event of his death, they must either restore " her to the crown, or allow it to descend to " the Hamiltons, whom they detested: that " for these reasons, a composition was desir- " able for both parties, by which the Queen " might reign jointly with her son, whilst the " Earl of Murray governed for both." The Earl adds, " that even the Hamiltons, who " demanded her unlimited restitution, were " willing (in respect of her misgovernment,) " that she should be directed by a council of " nobles, provided, that neither of them " aspired to supremacy, but that all were " allowed to govern in rotation." In con- clusion, he says, pithily, — " Thus do you see " howe these two factyons for ther pryvate

Digitized by Google

" causes tosse betwene them the crowne and " publyke affayers of Scotland, and howe " nere they be to agree if ther pryvate causes " were not; and care nether for the mother " nor the chyld, (as I thynk before God,) " but to serve ther owne turne. Neither " will Murray like of any order, whereby he " showld not be Regent styled; nor Hamil- " ton of any order wherby he showld not be " as great, or greater in government than " Murray. So as the government is presently " the matter, whatsoever they say was hereto- " fore the cause; *and, therefore, it will be* " *good we forgett not our parte in this tra-* " *gedye.* Thus ferre of that I have gathered " by them; wherin, if they do not alter, I " am sure I do not erre. And now, touchyng " my opynyon of the matter, (not by waye of " advyse, but as impartyng to you what I " conceyve), I thynke suerly no ende can be " made good for England, excepte the per- " son of the S. Quene be deteyned, by one " means or other in England." *

As procrastination was the aim of the English government, it is not surprising, that though the Queen of Scots had been removed to Bolton Castle in July, the hearing of her cause was deferred till the ensuing October. During that

* Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. ii.

Digitized by Google

interval, the hopes of Mary were kept alive by the flattering attentions of the English nobility, and by the expectation, however futile, of receiving aid from France. In a letter to Lord Argyle, she announced with evident satisfaction the apprehensions which Elizabeth entertained of foreign invasion *, and finally allayed

* " *To oure traist Cousinge and Counsalour; The Erle of Argyle, etc.*

" Traist cousing and counsalour, We greit zow weill. " We haif vnderstand that my Lord of Huntly hes gottin " sum defait, of the quhilk we ar in greit pane till we " heir the veritie thairof. And haifing gottin mony " fair and greit promesses of this realme, thinkis the " same nocht to tak greit effect. We haif ressawit twa " vrytingis fra our sister the Quene, be our servand James " Borthik, writtin with hir awin hand, and causit translait " thame in scottis, of the quhilkis we haif send copeis " to my Lord Hereis and the Bischop of St. Andross, " quha will mak zow participant thairof quhairin it " maye be considerit quhat effect maye be found to our " profit, fforr we latt zow knaw the assurance as we " haif it. And seing scho hes writtin to us of sic newis " as we thocht maist neidfull to aduerteis zow vald nocht " faill to do the same. Principally schawing, amangis " uthir heidis, that thair is ane cumpany of Frenschemen " outhir on the se to pas in Scotland, or ellis alreddy " arrevit thairin, at the quhilk scho is evill content. Al- " wayis gif sa be that they cum or ar arrevit, ze knaw " zour force and habilite quhilk our faithfull subjectis " maye use. It hes bein falsly reportit to hir, that our " men hes invaidit and maid slauchter with greit distruc- " tioun of houssis on hir bordouris. As it is schawin ws,

Digitized by Google

her own impatience by nominating that nobleman and the Duke of Chatelherault to be her Lieutenants in Scotland.

During the intervening months, Mary was sufficiently occupied in transmitting instructions to her agents, and in negociating with the ministers of Elizabeth.* From the whole

---

" the principale of thay invaidaris wes the young Lard " of Seswood, nochtwithstanding scho layis the haill bur- " dein on ws and our party allanerly. Als sche vrytis thair " is sum commissionaris to cum heir, quhairof the Deuk " of Northfolk is ane. Referring vthir thingis to my " Lord Hereis, quha will schaw zow mair at lenth be " Borthikis informatioun and the rest to this beirar swa " comittis zow to God. Off Bowtoun the xxvij of August, " 1568."

* By the following letter it appears that she had been induced by Elizabeth to check the ardour of her partizans in Scotland.

" *To oure truest Cousin and Lieutennent the Earl of Argyle, &c.*

" Trusty Cousin and Counswellor,

" We greet you well. Having received your writ- " ings yesterday by Johne Levingstoune, understanding " thereby, and by his report, your great fervency, good- " will, and forwardnes, that you have shewn in this your " last assembly, we thank you most heartily thereof. " Your disassembling and staying of further proceiding " therein, we caused to be for a good intent, consider- " ing our sister's writing, which we send you the copy " thereof, was by the same in her good promises, con- " strained to stay you, whereof my Lord Herris has ad-

Digitized by Google

tenor of her correspondence, it is evident that she never contemplated the possibility of her being the accused party; on the contrary, it is evident that she expected the Regent should be arraigned for usurpation and treason, and that she confidently anticipated his condemnation from Elizabeth.

The hearing of the Scottish cause was again postponed to the ensuing October. At length the Regent arrived in the city of York, accompanied by Morton, Maitland, the celebrated George Buchanan, and other able and intelligent coadjutors. On the part of Mary came several barons and dignified ecclesiastics; but with the exception of John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, not one man of high intellectual attainments. On the part

---

"vertized us that you and the rest of our nobilitie with "him, and is very commoved thereat, praying yow not "to charge him therewith; for he did na thing by oure ex- "press commandment, being far more wytit by the other "party of this country, that he was the sole occasioune "of enormities on our border, and other tumultes with- "in our cuntrey. We doubt not but you have already "seen by the copy of our sister the Quenis last wrytingis, "which we send to you by the Lard of Skeldoune, of "the advertisment she makis to us of the Frensche menis "coming in our realm, which we hope to be hastily. "Referring all other things to your wisdom, commit you "to God. — Off Bowtoun, the last of August, 1568."

Digitized by Google

of Elizabeth, appeared the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the commissioners appointed to hear the cause, and to communicate to their Sovereign the result of the investigation.

The history of the conferences of York and Hampton Court is well known, as is the political chicanery by which an affair of arbitration was converted into a sort of judicial process against the Queen of Scots. Originally Elizabeth proposed, merely to institute an enquiry, on which to ground her pretensions for interference with the existing government of Scotland; alleging, that she could not justly impugn the Regent's rights, without allowing him an opportunity to vindicate his conduct.

In the first instance, when the Queen's commissioners charged the Regent with rebellion and usurpation, the Regent replied, "that the "confederates had taken arms to revenge the "late King's death on the murderer Both-"well, whom her Majesty protected; that, to "prevent her offering impediments to this act "of justice, they had committed her to Loch-"leven, where she had voluntarily surrender-"ed the crown to her infant son; and, that "in accepting the government which she had "abdicated, they were neither rebels nor "usurpers."

Digitized by Google

To this the Queen's commissioners answered, that if she incurred blame in marrying Bothwell, who had been tried and acquitted of her husband's murder, she had acted by their advice*; since they could not deny but that they had subscribed the bond, recommending him to be a suitable husband; that she had consented to renounce him when she surrendered to them on Carberry Hill; that so far from having impeded justice, she had been herself treated with indignity, and finally consigned to a prison in Lochleven, where, to save

* By a letter from Elizabeth's commissioners, at York, October, 1568, it appears, that the Regent caused the evidence against Mary to be privately submitted to the Duke of Norfolk and his colleagues; and, that at the same they produced a copy of the bond, declaring Bothwell clear from suspicion, and recommending him to Mary as a proper husband; to which the most part of the lords and counsellors of Scotland had put their hands. In admitting this fact, however, they protested, that they subscribed not out of liking, having procured a warrant from the Queen to indemnify them for so doing. When we recollect how little power the Queen possessed, it appears incredible that she should have so coerced almost the whole nobility of Scotland. The commissioners add, that a contract of marriage had been shown them between the Queen and Bothwell, dated before his purgation. It is almost needless to state, that this contract is, by the Queen's advocates, pronounced a forgery.—Anderson's *Collections*, vol. iv. page 39.

Digitized by Google

her life, she had, by compulsion, subscribed that deed, by virtue of which they pretended to usurp her government; that the punishment of Bothwell was palpably a mere pretext for the outrage they had committed, since, during many months, they had taken no steps to bring him to justice; and, finally, had permitted him to escape into another country. As these charges were substantiated by facts which could not be denied, the Queen's cause was evidently triumphant; but, as during the enquiry, schemes of composition were agitated, neither party accused the other of Darnley's murder. On Mary's side this forbearance was owing to a secret correspondence with Maitland, who now favoured her cause, and hoped, under certain restrictions, to restore her to the government. In her previous conversations with Scroop and Knolles, she had repeatedly designated Maitland and Morton as the authors of her husband's murder; and authorized her commissioners to charge them with the fabrication of the spurious letters; but now that the latter was willing to become her friend, she naturally abstained from an attack that must have alienated him from her interests. At the same time, a subordinate intrigue was carried on

Digitized by Google

with the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Maitland *, willing to terminate the disgraceful controversy, suggested, that by marrying the Queen of Scots, he might unite England and Scotland in perpetual amity, and secure the establishment of the Protestant religion. The proposal was communicated to the Regent, who affected to enter into Maitland's views; and in conformity with the Duke's advice, promised to be careful of his sister's honor. In the meanwhile this clandestine correspondence having transpired, the conferences were transferred from York to Hampton Court; where, under Cecil's superintendance, the Regent suffered himself to be persuaded to produce the documents contained in the casket, without which he had no colourable excuse to offer for his assumption of the government.

On the papers formerly extracted from the casket, was founded the aggravated charge of adultery and murder; in proof of which, the confederates produced a series of amatory letters †,

* If Maitland had really any share in the fabrication of those letters, he must have been prompted by personal interest, to propose the marriage with Norfolk.

† It is observable, that it has never been ascertained in what language the letters were actually written, but it may be presumed to have been French. The originals produced before the English commissioners have never

Digitized by Google

addressed to Bothwell before Darnley's death, and alluding to circumstances connected with that event; to these were appended some miserable French verses, (which the poet, Ronsard, from the style alone, pronounced to be spurious;) and the depositions of certain domestics of Bothwell, who had been convicted, on their own confession, as agents of his crime; from one of which only was evidence extracted to criminate the Queen of Scots: and it is proper to observe, that the deposition of this last witness, an illiterate man, who could neither read nor write, was marked with an incongruity that must inevit-

---

been since heard of, but by the industry of Buchanan, translations of them in French, Scotch, and Latin, were circulated through Europe; it appears absurd to suppose that Mary should address sonnets to Bothwell, who was wholly untinctured with literature or taste. Dr. Lingard suggests that some of the epistolary compositions might actually have been garbled extracts from letters written by Mary, but not addressed to Bothwell; he even supposes that one or two of them might have been intended for Darnley. But the most conclusive argument against the genuineness of the letters is, that Mary's enemies ventured not to produce them publicly in evidence against her. Mr. Chalmers has demonstrated that they were not submitted to the Scottish Parliament, and it is indisputable that the originals were never communicated to the Queen of Scots.

Digitized by Google

ably excite distrust; since, though no living witnesses were produced to attest the improper conduct of Mary Stuart, she was made to receive and transmit familiar messages to Bothwell by a menial domestic.* To corroborate the letters and confessions, was appended a journal of the Queen's proceedings, (attributed to Buchanan's pen,) and transmitted by Murray to Cecil; of which, the gross inaccuracy and wilful misrepresentations can now be demonstrated †; but which it suited the policy of the English ministers to receive as authenticated fact. Of the letters, it had been previously argued by the Earl of Sussex, that they were not admissible as judicial evidence; yet that nobleman, in common with the other commissioners, who unanimously upheld the policy of supporting Murray's government, decided without any adequate investigation, that the letters addressed to Bothwell were genuine, and that consequently the Regent was justified in his usurpation. How far this declaration agreed with their internal feelings must for ever remain unknown; but it seems evident, that the Duke of Norfolk, who long resented Mur-

* Mr. Chalmers adduces strong evidence, to prove that the confession of Paris is a forgery.

† See the document at the end of this volume, extracted from Chalmers' Life of Mary.

Digitized by Google

ray's accusation of his sister, and had himself been persuaded of her innocence, was rather swayed by his fears than his convictions, when he subscribed to the opinion of his confederates.

During the sittings at Westminster, Mary became sensible of the error she had committed, in submitting to a political inquisition; and by the advice of Lesley, hastily revoked the powers vested in her commissioners, imperatively demanding to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence. This procedure has been much blamed; but was, as the Bishop of Ross conceived, the only resource left to shield her royal dignity from degradation; yet, when pressed by Elizabeth to reply to the Regent's allegations, she pledged herself to disprove them, provided she were allowed time and opportunity to collect evidence, and procure witnesses in her defence; and, as a preliminary, demanded to see the originals or duplicates of the letters and sonnets ascribed to her pen. Although this equitable demand could scarcely be disputed, Elizabeth annexed to it the whimsical condition, that Mary should previously give a written promise to reply to every article of the Regent's accusation. To this Lesley objected*; and Elizabeth, or rather Cecil, hav-

* Queen Mary's Register, Goddall, page 305.

Digitized by Google

ing attained the object for which the enquiry was actually instituted, that of having elicited sufficient matter against the Queen of Scots, to gain time, with a view to her ultimate detention, no longer pressed the subject; finally, the English commissioners declared "that "nothing had hitherto been deduced against "the Regent and his adherents, that may "impair their honor or allegiance; and, on "the other side, nothing sufficiently produced "nor shewn by them against the Queen their "sovereign, for which the Queen of England "should conceive evil opinion of the queen "her sister for any thing yet seen;" and with this nullity the enquiry terminated. It was however stipulated, that the Earl should return to England whenever the Queen of Scots might think proper to return a specific answer to his allegations. In the mean time, he was dismissed with honor, and a gratuitous loan of 5000*l.* *, avowedly to maintain peace between the sister kingdoms. Nor was this the only instance in which his prudence and address were manifested. By affecting to encourage Norfolk's views of marriage, he obtained, through that nobleman's mediation, a passport from the Queen of Scots to guarantee the safety of his person

* See Rymer's Federa, tom. xv. page 677.

Digitized by Google

in passing the borders. Whilst fortune smiled on the Regent, the unfortunate Queen, who had been the original complainant, and from whom neither threats nor blandishments could extort the voluntary resignation of her authority, was consigned to the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury; whether in conformity to Cecil's principle, that she ought to be treated as a prisoner of war, or to the advice of Sussex and the other privy counsellors, that her detention was essential to the welfare of England, she appears from this time to have been devoted to interminable captivity, not for real or imaginary crimes, (since by the English government all judicial functions were positively disclaimed,) but for the personal security of the reigning sovereign, and the ultimate prosperity of the Protestant party.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

A SKETCH OF MARY'S RESIDENCE IN ENGLAND.*

THE commencement of Mary's captivity in England was accompanied by some circumstances of mitigation, and even of comparative enjoyment. During her residence at Bolton Castle, she had been exhilarated by agreeable society and smiling prospects; and although the unsatisfactory issue of the conferences destroyed her confidence in Elizabeth's friendship, she discovered resources hitherto unexpected, with which to resist her enmity. In Scotland, her party had gained strength; since, exclusive of the Duke of Chatelherault and the good Lord Herris, the Earl of Huntley in the north, the Earl of Argyle in the west, openly espoused her cause; whilst the genius of Maitland secretly worked for her restoration to the sceptre of her ancestors. For the tergiversation of that able statesman, various motives have been assigned or imagined; but, ab-

* A minute and compendious account of Mary's domestic life in England, is to be found in Hunter's "History of Hallamshire."

Digitized by Google

stracted from political considerations, his inclination to serve the Queen was cherished by his wife, the amiable Mary Fleming, who had been the companion of her childhood, and could not remain insensible to her unparalleled misfortunes. Disgusted with Morton, and slighted by Murray, who was gradually assuming the insolence of authority, the fertile mind of Lethington* was long occupied in devising a fantastic scheme of coalition between Mary and the infant James; which, without abolishing the regency, was to vest in his mistress the ostensible sovereignty.

Even with Maitland, however, the maintenance of the Protestant kirk, and the league with England, took place of every other object; and, effectually to preclude Mary from contracting any foreign alliance, he engaged Lesley, the Bishop of Ross, to promote the marriage treaty with Norfolk; to which the Scottish Princess at first evinced indifference, or rather aversion. The Duke, like herself, had been thrice married, and his eldest son was nearly of her own age; but though neither young nor susceptible of enthusiastic impressions, Norfolk inherited the ambition of the Howards, and without having ever seen the woman, conceived an

* See in Anderson's Collections, called by Cecil a device of Lethington's.

Digitized by Google

ardent passion for the Queen. The Bishop of Ross, the patron of the scheme, was a zealous Catholic, and faithfully devoted to the interests of his unfortunate mistress. Like his contemporary, Buchanan, Lesley was eminently distinguished by classical attainments; and composed, in the Latin language, his "Annals of Scotland *;" a work which was consequently familiar to learned men in every country of Europe. But his "Defence of Queen Mary's Honor," which appears to have been little more than an expansion of his register of the conferences at Hampton Court, was written in English †; and consequently could but imperfectly counteract the sinister impressions produced by the invidious misrepresentations of the eloquent Buchanan. The private character of Lesley commanded respect: equally sincere in his political and religious principles, he consumed twenty years of his existence, in strenuous, though often injudicious efforts, to restore his Sovereign to the throne, and to reclaim her subjects to the faith of her ancestors. In the sequel, his enterprising spirit

* See Lesley's Negociations, in Anderson's Collections, vol. iii.

† In publishing this defence, Lesley did more for Mary's vindication than could have been effected by a renewal of the conferences at Hampton Court.

Digitized by Google

seduced him into complicated and dangerous schemes, by which he injured the cause he was earnest to promote; nor can it escape detection, that the Catholic champion occasionally predominated over the loyal subject; and that a blind zeal to sustain the supremacy of Rome, sometimes led him to recommend measures more likely to irritate the suspicions of Elizabeth, than to relieve the distresses of her ill-fated rival.

It must, however, be admitted, that, having detected the ultimate views of the English Queen and her ministers, Lesley naturally became eager to embrace any means, however desperate, that promised a speedy termination to Mary's captivity. In spite of the assurances reiterated at Hampton Court, that the Queen of Scots was to be considered as a free Princess, her removal from Bolton Castle in the depth of winter, without regard to her health or inclination, established the fact, that she was in future to be considered merely as a state prisoner.

It was in January, 1568, that Mary arrived at the castle of Tutbury, with impressions of terror and disgust, which were somewhat softened by the presence of her faithful friends, Lord and Lady Livingston, Mary Seaton, and a junior Livingston; nor, to a heart

Digitized by Google

susceptible as hers of personal attachment, could it be a matter of indifference, that in her reduced train of domestics she saw many faces long familiar to remembrance *, — the experienced Raulet, her French secretary, and the gallant William Douglas, her juvenile protector. In the family of her new guardians might be discovered the epitome of a court, with all its concomitant suspicions and intrigues, venal spies, and domestic discords. Naturally liberal and courteous, the Earl of Shrewsbury was united to a woman whose imperious and crafty temper constantly embittered his existence. Of this lady, perhaps the most complete shrew in Britain, it is recorded, that she had been thrice married † before she captivated the noble George Talbot; and that by a former husband, Sir William Cavendish, she had a daughter, who afterwards became allied by marriage to the female line of Henry VII. To a late period, she preserved her personal attractions, and that potent ascendancy she had originally established over her facile husband, whose feelings were per-

* Those attendants were thirty in number. See Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," vol. ii.

† Lady Shrewsbury's first husband was a commoner; her second, Sir William Cavendish; her third, Sir Edward St. Loe.

Digitized by Google

petually outraged by her sordid dispositions *; whilst his domestic quiet was sacrificed to her tormenting caprice, her real arrogance, and pretended jealousy; vices originating exclusively in the love of power, without one redeeming quality of female tenderness.

To propitiate this lady was of importance to the Queen of Scots, who having learnt enough of human nature to address herself to its mercenary propensities, readily sacrificed to the Countess a part of the jewels which had been transmitted to her from Scotland. For a short time the expedient succeeded; but the rapacity of her new hostess was insatiable, and to gratify her avarice she addressed herself to the suspicions of Elizabeth, and was by her employed as a spy on the fidelity of her husband. It was not long before the Earl shrunk appalled from the onerous duty he had undertaken; but to obtain his release was impossible, although his health and spirits even became seriously impaired; and it was officially announced by Cecil, that "poor Lord Shrewsbury, being first stricken "with palsy, was now lamentably fallen into "a frenzy." † Even this calamity procured not for the noble gaoler that emancipation he

* Of her talents for management and economy, there is an amusing example in her letter to the Earl, published in Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," vol. ii.

† See Cabala.

Digitized by Google

sighed to obtain, but a temporary coadjutor was assigned him in Sir Ralph Sadler, who, though several years older than himself, was not, like him, prematurely visited with the infirmities of age. In a short time the Earl recovered sufficiently to resume his charge, in which he continued to persevere to the ruin of his peace, and the impoverishment of his fortune.

The Earl of Shrewsbury possessed several mansions, at no considerable distance from each other. In May, 1569, he conducted the Queen to Wingfield Manor, from whence she addressed the States of Scotland, requiring them to obtain her divorce from Bothwell, which the Regent, according to his engagements with Norfolk, was bound to enforce with all his influence. Whether Murray was merely passive, or positively hostile to the measure, the petition was contemptuously rejected *, in spite of the efforts of Maitland, and the Queen's partisans; nor was this the only disappointment that awaited the unhappy captive. The Duke of Chatelherault having temporized, Lord Herries was compelled to disband his

* In this mandate it is remarkable, that Mary mentions several impediments to her marriage with Bothwell, neither known nor suspected, and, among others, certain degrees of affinity. See an extract from the original at the end of the volume.

Digitized by Google

followers; the Earls of Argyle and Huntley prudently listened to overtures of accommodation; and, finally, Maitland, whom the Regent no longer found necessary to his success, was arrested on the somewhat unseasonable charge of having been accessary to the late King's murder; he was, however, forcibly rescued from imprisonment by the brave Kirkaldy, who demanded that the accusation might be extended to Archibald Douglas and the Earl of Morton.*

In contemplating her desperate fortunes, Mary perceived that she had no alternative but to suppress her discontent, to practise patience, and assume the language of resignation. Instead, therefore, of proclaiming her resentment for the violence which had been offered to her inclinations, she not only affected to reconcile herself to a residence in Tutbury Castle, but by every possible concession laboured to efface those religious or political impressions which might operate against her personal interests; and she not only persisted in attending public worship according to the Anglican church, but condescended to solicit an introduction to every person of condition who visited Lord Shrewsbury's fa-

* Both of whom had been concerned in the conspiracy for Darnley's murder.

Digitized by Google

mily. One of those guests has transmitted to us an account of an interview to which he had been admitted, or rather invited, and in which, if credit be given to his own statement, the conversation could scarcely have been less offensive to Mary's feelings, than her first controversy with the Reformer of Scotland, that awful Knox, by whom her present captivity was believed to have been predicted.*

After having assisted at the service of the established church†, "her Grace (says Nicho- "las White, the stranger before mentioned,) "fell in talk with me on sundry matters, from "six to seven of the clock, beginning first to "excuse her ill English, declaring herself more "willing than apt to learn that language, and "how she used translations as a means to "attain it, and that Mr. Vice-chamberlain "(Knolles) was a good schoolmaster." — "I "asked her how she liked her change of air." —She said, "If it might have pleased her good "sister, she would not have removed at this "time; but added (doubtless to qualify the "objection), she was better content, because "she was come so much nearer to the Queen's "majesty, whom she desired above all things "to see." In reply to this, White had the effrontery to remark, that "though denied

* See Chapter III. † Haynes's State Papers.

Digitized by Google

" the actual, she was effectively admitted to " the real presence of his Sovereign, whose " affectionate and sisterly care was constantly " manifested for her preservation. At the " same time he reminded her of the perils " from which she had escaped, and with so- " lemn mockery felicitated her singular good " fortune in having reached this hospitable " realm, and received in it such honourable " and liberal treatment." The insolence of this address was, perhaps, in some degree disguised by quaint and common-place recommendations of patience and piety with which it was abundantly seasoned; and Mary listened to the didactic courtier with apparent complacency, gently remarking, that " patience was indeed " most necessary to her present state, and that " she prayed God to bestow it on her." Dismissing subjects of personal interest, the visitor demanded how the Queen passed her time when debarred by bad weather from using exercise. She replied, " that she spent her " time in needle-work, and that the variety of " the colours beguiled the occupation which " she continued in, till admonished by the pain " in her side, that she ought to desist." She then entered into a comparison of painting with sculpture: but soon withdrew to her apartment, probably to vent the bitterness of

Digitized by Google

her soul in murmurs against her pretended benefactors. Abstracted from the positive miseries of her present situation, Mary created to herself a new source of torment, by yielding to suspicions the most chimerical and absurd. That in Sir William Cecil she had an enemy she could not doubt; but instead of attributing his hostility to the true cause, namely, his intimate association with the Regent Murray, and his ardent attachment to the religion which that statesman professed, she suffered herself to be persuaded that the sagacious minister of Elizabeth laboured to effectuate her exclusion from the throne of England, purposely that he might raise to it another pretender, the Earl of Huntingdon.* But however credulous Mary might be, her English adversaries appear to have been equally addicted to conjectural fancies, since Nicholas White professed to be perplexed by the motto which he saw embroidered on her cloth of estate—*dans ma fin est mon commencement;*—and, for the sake of Elizabeth, adduced many reasons why "the Queen of Scots "should be seen as little as possible†; besides, "that she is a goodly personage, though not "comparable to our Sovereign; she hath withal "an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech,

* The Earl had married a female descendant of the Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward the Fourth.

† Hayne's Papers. * See Goodall.

Digitized by Google

" and a searching wit, clouded with mildness. " Fame might move some to relieve her, and " glory joined to gain, might stir others to " adventure much for her sake: then joy is a " lively impetuous passion, and carrieth many " persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all " the rest."

It was at this melancholy period that Mary engaged in a sentimental correspondence with the Duke of Norfolk; and, by the agency of Lesley, their proposed marriage was submitted to the French and Spanish ambassadors, who procured the sanction of their respective sovereigns. Through the pusillanimity or treachery of Murray, however, the intrigue had been already whispered to those who possessed Elizabeth's confidence, and was afterwards fully divulged to Cecil, to whom Norfolk scrupled not to pour forth his complaints of the Regent's perfidy and ambition; insinuating that his real object was the possession of his sister's kingdom.*

Originally, Mary had made her acceptance of Norfolk dependant on Elizabeth's approbation. The sanction of Spain and France induced her to think more seriously of the alliance; and such was the confidence she reposed in his judgment, that she declined, by

* See Haynes's State Papers.

Digitized by Google

his advice, the gallant offer of Leonard Dacres to effect her deliverance, and conduct her to any country in Europe. The opposition of the Duke to this suggestion is ascribed by Lesley to ambitious jealousy of some foreign rival, but was obviously dictated by the fear of alarming Elizabeth's suspicions; since, during the rebellion of the North*, he cautiously withdrew to his paternal mansion, without attempting to liberate his affianced bride, without even making one effort to protect her from the rigours to which she was subjected by the English government.

During their epistolary intercourse, Mary wrote repeatedly to Norfolk, "that if it "pleased him to engage in an enterprize for "her deliverance, she cared not for danger; "that were they once free, and indissolubly "united, he might make such good offers, that "both the Queen of England and the coun- "tries might be satisfied."† She continues: "As you please, command me, for I will for "all the world follow your commands, so "that you be not in danger for me in so do-

* The rebellion of the North broke out in 1569, headed by the Catholic Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, of whom one fled to Holland, the other to Scotland; but was afterwards basely surrendered by the Regent Morton to Elizabeth, and executed for treason.

† See Hardwicke's State Papers.

Digitized by Google

" ing." In a subsequent letter an involuntary expression of fear escapes her when she entreats him to write " whether he is offended, " and prays God to keep them both from " deceitful friends." She addressed several letters in the same strain, in which her secret dissatisfaction seems to have been with difficulty repressed by the dread of giving offence.

On another occasion, Mary warned him of the treachery of Murray, whom she understood to have declared that she should never return to Scotland.

In the sequel, the unhappy Queen became fatally convinced that Norfolk had neither courage nor enthusiasm for a desperate enterprize. Appalled by the displeasure of Elizabeth, he affected to renounce his matrimonial speculations, and solemnly pledged himself never to renew them without the concurrence of his Sovereign.

Too wary to trust to his professions, the English Queen caused him to be committed, for his misdemeanor, to the Tower, where he remained during the second insurrection of the Catholic malecontents; a circumstance which, though sufficiently explained by the intolerant system maintained against them, was constantly attributed to the invidious influence of Mary Stuart.

Sensible of the perils to which she exposed

Digitized by Google

herself, by keeping in captivity a Princess, to whom the oppressed Papists must naturally look for future relief, Elizabeth had almost consented to surrender Mary to the Regent Murray, when the spirited remonstrance of Lesley, and his mediation with the foreign ambassadors, suspended her purpose. The Regent revenged his disappointment on Lesley, whom he accused of having excited the late commotions in England; for which he was committed to the custody of the Bishop of London. Whether the negociation for the surrender of Mary would have been resumed, remains unknown; since, to the unutterable grief of Knox, Murray was suddenly cut off in his prosperous career by the hands of an obscure assassin.*

The character of this distinguished statesman, like that of Mary, has been strongly contrasted by party writers; by whom he is alternately represented as the best, or the vilest of mankind. That in the pursuits of ambition he was not only enterprizing, but capable of deep dissimulation, is evident from his general conduct. But that, in seeking his own aggran-

* The perpetrator of this crime was one Hamilton, of Bothwelhaugh, who, in revenge for an injury his wife had received from one of Murray's followers, shot him at Linlithgow.

Digitized by Google

dizement, he sought also to promote those religious interests which he believed to be identified with national prosperity, must be acknowledged even by his inveterate foes. In private life, his conduct was such as rather commands respect than inspires affection. His treatment of Mary, of Maitland, and Norfolk, bespeaks a heart callous to sentiments of gratitude, honour, or generosity. His political measures, whether good or bad, were shaped by the necessities and fitted to the prejudices predominant in his party. But it should be remembered that he lived in perilous times, when the patriot had merged in the partizan, the able statesman was synonymous with the crafty dissembler, and when unsullied faith was only to be found among the devoted victims of religious bigotry. In the administration of public justice Murray obtained unequivocal and honourable praise. The title of the Good Regent, attests the sentiments with which the poor and the unfortunate cherished his memory; and even his enemies confessed that his death was an irreparable misfortune to his distracted country.

During the insurrections in England, Mary had been removed to Coventry, where the Earl of Huntingdon was associated with the Earl of Shrewsbury in the care of her person. To prevent her escape, sentinels were planted be-

Digitized by Google

fore her chamber, even her female attendants were denied access to her presence, and she was watched night and day with the utmost rigour.

On the restoration of public tranquillity, Mary was reconducted to Tutbury, now more than ever unpleasing to her feelings, since she was no longer solaced by Lord and Lady Livingston, (who had been removed from her family,) and could not easily forget that she had been lately treated with harsh distrust; yet she might, perhaps, derive some transient relief from the reflection that even in her prison she was formidable to her powerful rival, and that a woman nine years older than herself was the only impediment to that which had so long been the object of her ambition, the throne of England.

Naturally sanguine and visionary, Mary was still visited by day-dreams of greatness and prosperity, which were almost justified by the conviction that the indefatigable Maitland was labouring to effect her restoration to Scotland. The first step taken by this accomplished statesman, was to obtain, with Morton's assistance, an assize to clear him from the charge of having connived in Darnley's murder; his next was to form, in conjunction with Kirkaldy, a confederacy in Mary's favour, by which he alienated Morton, and alarmed Cecil. During three

Digitized by Google

months, Elizabeth fluctuated between her jealousy of Mary and her antipathy to rebels and puritans; yet, whilst she professed strict neutrality, sent Lennox to be elected Regent, and dispatched Cecil, lately created Lord Burleigh, to treat with the Queen of Scots, for her restoration to her kingdom, on such terms as it was easy to foresee, would never be sanctioned by the states of Scotland.*

"I am thrown into a maze," writes the cautious Cecil, "that I know not how to walk from "dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay and I are sent "to the Scottish Queen, as by the Queen's Ma- "jesty's letters you may see: God be our guide, "for neither of us like the message."† Mary was then at Chatsworth, another mansion belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and that of which she is traditionally said to have remarked that the days she had here spent ought to be erased from the record of her captivity; yet even in this pleasant sojourn she was fated to taste of affliction in the loss of a tried and valued friend, the faithful John Beton, so instrumental in her deliverance from Lochleven:

* In the foreground of this treaty, stood the ratification of the never-to-be-forgotten treaty of Edinburgh; and among other stipulations it was exacted, that the young King should be educated in England.

† See Cabala.

Digitized by Google

who breathed his last in 1572, and was buried in the church of Edensor.* This was the first privation that Mary had sustained by death since her arrival in England, and one that could not but produce a deep impression on her heart; she had learnt in adversity to estimate a friend, whose faith and honor were already proved, and of whose attachment she could harbour no distrust. The simple emotion of sorrow was embittered by the conviction that during her present captivity she had found no champions at once zealous and discreet like the two Douglasses, and their coadjutor the lamented Beton. From this mournful event Mary, who was no less superstitious than susceptible, perhaps, drew a sinister presage of the issue of her negociation with the English cabinet. Unfortunately she had solicited assistance from the Pope, and the King of Spain, who, under the pretext of redeeming her from captivity, put in motion a variety of plots and conspiracies to annoy the English government. By the agency of the fanatical Felton, a bull of excommunication, pronounced against Elizabeth, by Pius

* At Chatsworth the ruin of an old tower is still shewn, which was then surrounded by a moat. On the area above was a delicious garden, called Mary's Bower, where she spent many hours of summer, not only in solitude, but comparative tranquillity. — See Rhodes's *Park Scenery*.

Digitized by Google

the Fifth, was affixed to the walls of Lambeth Palace, whilst by the intervention of Ridolpho, a Florentine merchant, a scheme was simultaneously formed for restoring the Catholic religion, and deposing the Protestant Queen. Despairing of liberty by other means, Mary at length recommended Ridolpho to Norfolk, who, with that inconsiderate rashness which is sometimes to be found in pusillanimous characters, embraced the desperate expedient of corresponding with a notorious spy; suffered himself to be involved in a treasonable negociation with the enemies of Elizabeth; and, finally, expiated his frailty and his ambition on the scaffold. *

Nor was the death of Norfolk the only evil that resulted to Mary from Ridolpho's intrigues. Against herself as the object, if not the author of the conspiracy, the indignation of the Protestants was generally excited. Both houses of parliament preferred a bill of attainder against Mary Stuart; and Elizabeth, by rejecting their petition, not only wiped off much of the odium she had originally incurred

* It was proposed by Ridolpho, that the Spaniards should invade England with ten thousand men; but whilst he was in Flanders, negociating the affair with the Duke of Alva, an account of the conspiracy was transmitted to Elizabeth. Copies of his letters being found in the Duke of Norfolk's possession, that nobleman was arraigned and finally executed.

Digitized by Google

by the detention of her kinswoman, but acquired the praise of clemency and magnanimity, for leaving life to her whom she had irreparably injured. To aggravate Mary's chagrins, the Bishop of Ross, who had been committed to the Tower, was liberated only to be proscribed; and even Charles the Ninth, piqued by her clandestine application to the court of Spain, abandoned her interests to the invidious Catherine de Medicis. Nor were her prospects more cheering in Scotland, where by Cecil's influence Lennox had been declared Regent: destitute of talents or prudence, that nobleman signalized his administration by cruelty and meanness, rashly sacrificed to his hereditary abhorrence of the house of Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, (who was executed for participation in Darnley's murder,) and, finally, like his predecessor Murray, was in a few months assassinated. The Earl of Mar, who succeeded to his perilous office, was of a different spirit, and sighed to give peace to his afflicted country. In that virtuous aim he was fatally counteracted by the Earl of Morton, who, on his death, became sole Regent of Scotland. Against that able, though unprincipled chief, neither the genius of Lethington, nor the invincible spirit of Kirkaldy, availed to sustain Mary's sinking cause. The castle of Edinburgh alone remained to her party; and even that fortress was at length

Digitized by Google

surrendered to the English commander. Kirkaldy, Maitland, and his brother, were included in the prisoners of war who trusted to the honor and demanded the protection of England, but whom a base and discreditable policy afterwards betrayed to the Scottish Regent. The brave Laird of Grange perished by the hands of the executioner; an ignominy that Maitland escaped by a premature and suspicious death, which was generally attributed to poison.

All Scotland was now reduced to the King's government, a circumstance which the Earl of Shrewsbury failed not to communicate to his royal charge; and, in announcing to her the capitulation of Edinburgh, he was unfeeling enough to expatiate on the generous attachment which his Sovereign evinced for the protection of her infant son. "How," cried the captive Queen, "can you expect I shall thank "her for depriving me of my only friends? "Henceforth, I will neither speak nor hear of "Scotland."* In spite of her efforts to assume indifference, the Earl perceived, *that the news nipped her sore* †, and that she often sunk into a profound melancholy, from which she was only roused, to give vent to indignant complaints, or captious suspicions, intermingled

* See Lodge's Illustrations of British History.

† See in Chalmers's Life of Mary, an extract from Shrewsbury's letter, page 369.

Digitized by Google

with threats, which proved that neither the impetuosity nor the lofty spirit of Mary Stuart was wholly subdued. In her more gloomy moments, she was accustomed to impeach the integrity of her agents in France, not excepting her uncle, Cardinal Lorrain, with whose rapacity she was but too well acquainted. At other times, she boasted of foreign friends and illustrious connections, openly avowed her resolution never to desist from the attempt to recover her liberty, braved the reproaches of her persecutors, retorted menace for menace; and when Shrewsbury accused her of employing money to foment dissensions in England, exultingly protested that on the contrary every penny of her dower went to support her party in Scotland.*

But that party of which Mary boasted had dwindled into insignificance. Within three years she found herself the survivor of all those individuals, whether friendly or inimical, who had most powerfully influenced her destiny:—one by one had fallen;—the prudent Murray, the restless Lennox, the intriguing Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the inflexible Knox, the most honorable of her foes, whose prejudices were almost sanctified by his magnanimous integrity. After these came the misguided Norfolk,

* Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

Digitized by Google

equally unseasonable in his caution and his temerity. The gallant Kirkaldy followed, but of all most lamented and irreparable, was the sagacious Maitland. In contemplating the fine talents and amiable sympathies of this eloquent statesman, it is impossible not to regret that he was not destined to live in another and a better age. Married in early life, he was a widower when he became enamoured of Mary Fleming, with whom he enjoyed a short-lived season of domestic felicity. After Murray's death, he saw his family involved in his personal misfortunes; not even his aged father was spared by the vindictive Lennox or the rapacious Morton, who thus repaid the services they had received from his accomplished son. Under these complicated calamities, the spirit of Maitland sunk; his strength failed; his hopes and even his energies were exhausted. At the invectives of Knox he might have smiled, to the satire of Buchanan* he could have retorted in a vein of elegant raillery, but he was unable to endure the sting of self-reproach; and whether he fell by poison or the slow disease of grief, it is equally true that he became the victim of faithless friends and pernicious counsels. It is remarkable that shortly after Maitland, died Cardinal Lorrain, the

* Buchanan had satirized him in his Chameleon.

Digitized by Google

primary author of Mary's errors and misfortunes, who had first stimulated her ambition, and whose pernicious lessons were never effaced from her memory.

In the absence of all those splendid scenes to which she had from infancy been accustomed, Mary had no other solace than the few domestic attendants who for her sake sacrificed the pursuits of pleasure and of fortune; and even of these, the number was, from various causes, quickly diminished. Of Beton she had already been deprived, and she now sustained a more serious loss, in her French secretary, the faithful and circumspect Raulet. Each day and hour increased the gloom and hopelessness of her captivity. No longer cheered by visits from strangers, she was scarcely allowed any social intercourse with the inmates of the family *; and nothing remained to break the death-like stillness of her solitude but the tantalizing intrigues of Lady Shrewsbury, the murmurs of her own domestics, the embarrassments of her guardian in procuring subsistence for so large a household, the whispers of suspicion, and increasing indications of hostility. †

* During several years, Gilbert Talbot (the Earl's eldest son) did not even see her. — See Hunter's *History of Hallamshire.*

† Mary's table was still served with sixteen dishes to each course, and her household consumed a large quan-

Digitized by Google

In the year 1574 this monotony was broken by an incident occurring in Lord Shrewsbury's household which occasioned considerable uneasiness to Elizabeth. It had been the favorite object of the wary Countess to advance the fortunes of her family by marriage; even in receiving the addresses of her present Lord, she had stipulated that his son Gilbert should espouse her eldest daughter; but she had by Sir William Cavendish another girl, for whose establishment she was no less anxious.

Baffled in one of her late matrimonial speculations, she was still repining at the disappointment, when Charles Stuart, the youngest brother of Lord Darnley, came on a visit to her castle; dazzled with the prospect of a royal alliance, she took care to afford the youthful pair every facility for forming a tender attachment, and so well were her efforts seconded by their mutual inclinations, that in a few days Charles and Elizabeth contracted a clandestine marriage *, by which, as was naturally to be expected, they provoked the displeasure of their jealous sovereign, and in-

---

tity of wine.—See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

* It is worthy of remark, that the offspring of this union, the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, was constantly the object of jealousy and persecution to James the First.

Digitized by Google

volved in their disgrace the Lady Lennox and the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury; even Mary escaped not blame, although the alliance was obviously prejudicial to her personal interests. It was probably in part to atone for her late offence, that the Countess of Shrewsbury, in private communications to Elizabeth, affected to believe that Mary had seduced her Lord's affections; and in this manner indirectly authenticated those calumnious rumours, at which she had formerly been the first to laugh with unaffected incredulity and contempt. It was long before Mary was aware of this last trait of malice, for which she afterwards claimed and obtained all the redress that in her situation was practicable, namely, the public humiliation of Lady Shrewsbury, and other members of the family.*

From the epoch of Morton's election to the Regency in 1373, had vanished every rational hope of Mary's restoration in Scotland, and during several years she appears to have been unheeded by her friends, and even by her enemies almost forgotten. During this interval she kept up an

* See the spirited letters of Mary in Laboureur's Additions to Castelnau. See also in Strype's Annals, the record of the affidavits made by Lady Shrewsbury and her two sons, disclaiming all participation in the odious calumny. This last reparation was obtained by the *mediation* of Castelnau.

Digitized by Google

amicable commerce of letters and presents with Elizabeth, to whom she devoted many of those elegant specimens of needle-work, with which she still beguiled the tedious season of captivity. In return for these attentions, she was permitted to spend two weeks at Buxton for the benefit of her health, already seriously impaired by sorrow; but even to this indulgence were annexed so many vexatious restrictions, that she returned to Sheffield little improved by the excursion.

It is difficult to imagine in what manner Mary continued to employ the everlasting days of her monotonous existence; that she loved reading is well known, but her library was already exhausted. In her needle she appears, indeed, to have had a valuable resource, and numerous specimens of her embroidery sufficiently evince that she struggled against dejection, until confinement proved so injurious to her health, that she seemed likely to sink into an untimely grave.

In 1577, Mary became apprized of a circumstance calculated to rouse her from listless inactivity; such was the death of Bothwell, who was believed to have left a testament or confession, in which he exonerated the Queen from all participation in Darnley's murder. Copies of this testament were said to have

Digitized by Google

been transmitted both to Scotland and England, by whose respective governments Mary naturally suspected that the document had been suppressed. In the fulness of her heart, she wrote to her faithful friend the Archbishop of Glasgow *, by whose agency she procured a copy of an attestation attributed to Bothwell, containing, (as was pretended,) a declaration made previously to his death, and which solemnly maintained her innocence. Of such a document the genuineness appeared suspicious, and the paper itself has long been considered a forgery. But the earnestness which Mary evinced to obtain possession of the pretended document, the confidence with which she anticipated an honorable result to the enquiry, affords at least a presumption of her innocence, perhaps more satisfactory than any declaration which could have been made in her favor by such a miscreant as Bothwell.†

The death of Bothwell was followed by that of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, who, in the pedantic language of the age, is said to have

* See Keith, Appendix, p. 142.

† If Bothwell died in a state of derangement, he must at that time have been incapable of making the declaration attributed to him. The period when his malady commenced is not known. In 1569, Lord Boyd procured his consent to the divorce demanded by Mary.

Digitized by Google

yielded, in 1578, to the co-acting laws of contraries. *

Amidst the vicissitudes of this lady's life, ambition appears to have constantly predominated in her character. Unfortunate as had been the result of her matrimonial speculations in sanctioning the marriage of her

* Extract from Johnson's History of the Minority of King James.

" This year Margaret Douglas yielded herself to the " co-acting laws of contraries; a woman of a princely " majesty, in the 63d year of her age, descended from " Henry the Seventh. For Margaret, his elder daughter, " was assigned the imperial crown of Great Britain, and " by the applause of the nobles betrothed to James the " Fourth, of whom sprung James the Fifth. After the " candle of James the Fourth's life was extinct, Mar- " garet, who was his espoused, took to husband Archi- " bald Douglas, Earl of Angus, the flower of the Scotch " nobility, by whom she had Margaret Douglas, at Har- " bottle, in Northumberland. This most zealous and " thrice-noble lady had the chequers of good and bad " fortune, which posterity will memorize, of external " lineaments and internal ornaments egregious her de- " scent was regal; the fruit of her womb and their nu- " merosity was no less, while King Edward wore the " crown with honor. But novercaling fortune, lest this " lady should be oblivious of mortality, overshadowed " her fair heaven of prosperity with many inconveniences " of human frailty. She was supervisor to eight of her " children; thrice imprisoned for affecting loves, not for " any crime against the crown or state."

Digitized by Google

sole surviving son with Elizabeth Cavendish, she probably expected rather to alarm Mary than to offend Elizabeth. In the sequel, misery alone resulted from this ill-omened union. Both Charles and Elizabeth perished in the flower of youth, and their offspring, the unhappy Arabella Stuart, was reserved for a life of privation and persecution. Towards the close of her life, Lady Lennox reconciled herself to the Queen of Scots; a circumstance calculated to strengthen the persuasion of Mary's innocence. The indefatigable Bishop of Ross had already published various tracts in her vindication; and his spirited Defence of Queen Mary's Honor, though suppressed in England, appeared at Brussels, and circulated on the continent.

The eloquence of Lesley was enforced by the execution or attainder of those men who had been foremost in accusing their sovereign of a crime manifestly committed at their instigation, or with their connivance. To the majority of the Protestant party, however, the suggestions of Ross were addressed in vain. They insisted vehemently on Mary's guilt, because they desired to exclude from the crown of England a Catholic Princess, who was scarcely connected with the authors

Digitized by Google

and protectors of the league for extirpating evangelical principles. Nothing but the terrors inseparable from an age of oppression and persecution could reconcile to the common sympathies of humanity the rancour with which Theodore Beza* besought Elizabeth to destroy Mary Stuart, that false *Medea, only less criminal than Catharine de Medicis*, who, if permitted to live, would inevitably prove fatal *to the people of God.* In the language of Scripture, the Protestant Queen was admonished, by the example of Saul, to destroy an idolatress. For the commonweal of England, she was exhorted to sacrifice the love of clemency to the sense of justice. In the name of honor, piety, and humanity, she was conjured to devote to the common executioner the Queen of Scots, lest, by a false and mistaken mercy, she should prepare destruction and misery for a suffering people. To account for this extravagance, it should be recollected that, in the sixteenth century, liberty was but a name, connected with the classical images of Greece and Rome; not a single spot could be discovered that secured to man the blessings of civil and religious freedom. In the Netherlands, although those struggles had begun which formed the school of patriots,

* See the Reveil au Matin, published in 1574.

Digitized by Google

of statesmen, and heroes, the conflict was unequal, the issue uncertain; not even the little state of Holland was yet reclaimed from the overwhelming flood of despotism and oppression, nor had America become the sanctuary of Europe; for the Catholic who upheld, or the Protestant who resisted the prescriptive authority of papal Rome, the same iron laws of necessity existed; and however they might dissent in tenets of faith, they sympathized in party feelings, and assimilated in those darker features which tyranny imprints on the human character, and which are only to be effaced by the mild and ameliorating influences of a happier system. That love of justice, humanity, and truth, which is the birthright of freemen, belongs neither to the tyrant nor the slave. Cruelty is naturally allied to suspicion; and when we reflect on the vestiges of feudal barbarism and violence which deformed society in the sixteenth century, we shall cease to wonder that the champions of Protestantism demanded the sacrifice of a feeble woman, with as much energy as in the nineteenth century the friends of humanity have evinced for the abolition of African slavery.

In general, it is the effect of long-protracted sufferings to blunt the native sensibilities of

Digitized by Google

the temper; but in Mary's character time appeared to produce little change. Though the sceptre had been wrested from her hands, the passions of royalty were enthroned in her breast. Born to be a sovereign, she could not divest herself of those impressions which she had received almost with her first consciousness of existence; she ceased not to cherish the persuasion that she belonged to a privileged order of beings, and gloried in proclaiming that she was not subject to ordinary laws, or amenable to any human tribunal.

Driven from her realm, disclaimed by her subjects, it was her pride to repeat that she would live and die as became a Queen — the anointed Queen of the Scots. Nor can it be doubted, that, amidst all her privations, she extracted consolation from the reflection that she was presumptive heir to the crown of England. To the faith in which she had been educated, Mary naturally attached herself with increasing ardour and tenacity. On her first arrival in England, she had from policy communicated with a chaplain of the established church, and expressed complacency and respect for the Anglican system. But that constraint which in happier moments might have been endured with patience, after a series of afflictions became insupportable. In England, as in Scotland, she saw the worship of

Digitized by Google

her ancestors disgraced. There were times when no Catholic priest was allowed to approach her presence, to administer to her those sacred consolations for which she often sighed with an earnestness to be understood only by those who have been consigned to hopeless captivity. Touched by her situation, Pope Gregory XIII., like his predecessor, expressed for her an attachment which, whilst it called forth her warmest gratitude, increased her regrets for having done so little to promote what she conceived to be the common cause of Christendom; nor is it doubtful, that in Mary's future plans of life was included a resolution zealously to uphold the Catholic faith, and to suffer for its sake with heroic constancy.

But it required all her efforts to resist the dreariness that surrounded her prison. Separated from those female friends who had at first softened her captivity *, she was by vexatious restrictions deprived of all congenial society, and debarred from her former amusements; neither hunting nor hawking was often allowed, even to ride for air and exercise was sometimes prohibited. Whatever spot she approached was rendered solitary; whatever

* See her pathetic complaints, in Labourer's Additions to Castelnau.

Digitized by Google

mansion she inhabited assumed the aspect of a prison; none ventured to approach the gates without permission, none departed without search *, and the most ordinary concerns of life furnished matter for controversy and jealousy. That in such a situation the Queen of Scots should rarely have exercised her native taste for poetical composition, is not surprising. By unceasing irritation, the elasticity of the soul is destroyed: political intrigues repel the influence of the imagination. Even Mary's lute was here discarded; and she had little to occupy her, besides visionary speculations, self-tormenting suspicions, fantastic hopes, and corroding resentments. In the character and future conduct of her son, she had, however, a legitimate object for solicitude and sympathy; and it was with intense interest she listened to the tales which were sometimes transmitted of his promising talents and affectionate disposition. By the regent Morton, and his tutor, Buchanan, she well knew he would be taught to consider her as the vilest of women. But Mary trusted to the impulse of nature to counteract those impressions, and allowed her

* See the Regulations in Sir Ralph Saddler's *State Papers*, and Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. ii.

Digitized by Google

imagination to dwell on the filial piety of a child to whom she had never been known, and to whom she was destined for ever to remain a stranger.

The removal of Morton from the regency in 1580 revived in her the hope of emancipation; and conceiving that the revolution in Scottish affairs had been produced by the agency of Esmo Stuart, Duke of Lenox, (descended from the Duke of Albany,) who had been educated in France, she began to entertain a chimerical expectation that her son might be reclaimed to the Catholic faith, and having constituted the Duke of Guise her lieutenant, indirectly authorised him to treat in her behalf with the young King of Scotland. The interception of this document alarmed the vigilance of the English cabinet, and the dissatisfaction it excited, was increased by the subsequent execution of Morton, who, in 1581, was tried and convicted, on no very conclusive evidence *, for having been *arte* and *parte* in Darnley's mur-

* By the curious letter from Sir John Forster, published in Chalmers' Life of Mary (vol. ii. p. 92. 4to. edition,) it appears, that the declaration or testament of Bothwell was produced at Morton's trial, and admitted as evidence against him, which proves either that the document was supposed to be genuine, or that the most barefaced forgeries were with impunity obtruded on the public.

Digitized by Google

der: even by himself, the justice of his sentence was however admitted by a voluntary confession, in which he stated, that, previous to his restoration, Maitland and Bothwell had visited him at Whittingham, where the former proposed to him to destroy Darnley, as an enemy to the commonwealth; that at first he (Morton) had declined the overture, unless the transaction should be with the Queen's consent. That his pardon having been obtained on his return to Scotland, the subject was renewed; that he persisted in his scruples, challenging Bothwell to produce some written testimonial from the Queen's hand that she approved the deed; that this pledge was never given, although Bothwell protested she sanctioned the measure; finally, that, though privy to the design, he did not actually aid in the enterprise, in which he had before stated Maitland to have taken a decided part.*

In whatever anticipations Mary indulged

* See Moyse's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. — From this concession of Morton's, Mr. Chalmers infers that Bothwell could never have received from the Queen the letters attributed to her pen by Buchanan. In Morton's confession there appears to have been much mental reservation, as, if not personally assisting at Darnley's murder himself, his kinsman, Archibald Douglas, was present on that memorable occasion; and he was notoriously the manager of Bothwell's trial, though he declined being on the jury.

Digitized by Google

after Morton's death, they were soon damped by the conspiracy of Ruthven with the other malecontent Lords, and her son's detention in their custody. Appalled by these tidings, and believing that James, like herself, was devoted to destruction, she for the first time yielded to despondence; and for a few days her dissolution seemed inevitable; but suddenly rousing herself from sickly dejection, she addressed to Elizabeth a letter dictated by warm maternal feelings, which contained a brief but elegant narrative of her sufferings.*

In a few months the young King having regained his liberty, Mary flattered herself, that, by the intervention of the French court, a treaty was at length about to be concluded for her titular association in the government of Scotland. She disclaimed all intention to deprive her son of the sovereign authority; but insisted, that his present claims were founded on injustice and usurpation, and that he should surrender to her the crown, only to receive it from her hands as a mark of respect, and as a proof that he recognised her maternal prerogatives.

* This celebrated letter (written in 1582) has been often published; it was abridged in Camden, but has been given entire in Whitaker's Vindication, and in Mr. Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots.

Digitized by Google

By the recommendation of Mauvisière, Mary now entered into a correspondence with the notorious Archibald Douglas, who had taken refuge in France, and, not daring to return to Scotland, was eager to regain her friendship. Mary signified her readiness to accept his overtures, provided he could clear himself from the suspicion of having participated in Darnley's murder. This answer drew from Douglas a circumstantial account of the conference between Morton and Bothwell at Whittingham*, when Darnley's death was projected; which, if it does not exonerate Mary, at least criminates many of her accusers.

From this correspondence the Queen derived little or no advantage, and still less from her commerce with France, in order to establish her

* In the letter to Mary, published in Robertson's Appendix, Archibald Douglas confirms Morton's avowal of the conference at Whittingham between that Earl, Maitland, and Bothwell, to concert Darnley's death; and that a band was formed by several nobles to that effect. He affirms, also, that Maitland afterwards declared, the Queen refused to sanction the measure; yet, though he was confessedly employed in the negociation, he pretends to Mary that he did not aid in the enterprise. But it should be recollected, that his own servant, John Binning, who was executed for the crime, deposed to his master's having been in the kirk field on the night of Darnley's murder; and that, in the hurry of quitting the garden, he had left one of his pantoufles or slippers behind him.

Digitized by Google

claims in Scotland. To the scheme of association, James and his counsellors were wholly averse; his rejection of the proposition appears to have inflicted on his mother a deeper wound than she had hitherto experienced, and in the bitterness of her soul she wrote to Mauvisière, to entreat that the king of France would, *for her sake*, resent the undutiful behaviour of James, by ceasing to acknowledge him as a sovereign. To Elizabeth she wrote also in the same strain, protesting, that if he persisted in those unnatural sentiments, she would disinherit him, and transfer her presumptive claims to some more worthy object.

"You may recollect, Madam, that it pleased "you to intimate to me, you had never ac- "knowledged my son to be King until I had "myself voluntarily conferred on him that "title, which I did, however, on condition "that he consented to the association pro- "posed, and that he should allow he had no "legitimate right to the crown but from my "pretensions; nor would it be a little prejudi- "cial to the princes of Christendom, and "among others to yourself, (whatever your "counsellors may pretend to the contrary,) if "it should once be established as a principle, "that it is lawful to depose and elect kings: be "not therefore, I beseech you, the advocate

Digitized by Google

" and protectress of violence and usurpation;
" lend not the sanction of your name to such
" enormous impiety, such violation of all
" rights, human and divine. It sometimes
" happens, that brothers and other near kins-
" men have been seduced from their relative
" duties by the rage for dominion; but, alas!
" what can be so abhorrent to God and man,
" as for an only child, to whom every thing is
" freely offered, to despoil his own mother of
" her state and crown, without even the ex-
" cuse of being incited to it by ambition? for
" all that I demand is, that he shall pay honor
" to myself, and discharge his own consci-
" ence, without ever wishing to set foot in
" Scotland. For the love of God, Madam,
" you, who are his godmother, to whose care
" I once bequeathed him, when I believed I
" was about to die*, as I should yet do at
" the hour of death,—consider with your
" natural sense of justice and prudence, what
" good, what honor can result from such
" counsels, as I too well know are instilled
" into your mind,—that of coalescing with my
" son, and upholding him in his ingratitude
" and contempt."

* Mary alludes to her dangerous illness at Jedburgh, when she recommended her son to the guardianship of Elizabeth.

Digitized by Google

After reiterating the menace of disinheritance, she continues, "Be assured no apprehensions of danger, no presages of death, shall ever induce me to take one step, to utter a single word inconsistent with these professions; far rather would I die, such as it pleased Heaven I should be born, than pusillanimously prolong my life by any concessions unjust to myself, or unworthy of my race." *

On another occasion, Mary, with increasing tenacity, desired her son might be reminded that he owed every thing to her, having derived from his father but a small patrimony. Yet the vehemence of her resentment prevented not her supplying him with money from the revenues of her dower; and she afterwards stated to Sir Ralph Sadler †, that knowing his poverty, she had actually furnished him with large sums for his favorites and his pleasures. In her miserable captivity, Mary was naturally impelled to brood on the ingratitude and infidelity she had experienced. Religious impressions conspired to strengthen those temporary feelings of alienation towards her son; and there were, perhaps, moments when she was persuaded that she ought to

* Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau.

† See Sadler's *State Papers*.

Digitized by Google

prefer the welfare of the Apostolic church to the interests of an heretical child. Amidst her various chagrins, she had, however, the satisfaction of obtaining, through the agency of the French ambassador, an attested disavowal of the slanders * which Lady Shrewsbury and her sons had maliciously propagated against her reputation; through the same medium she communicated other grievances, originating in the parsimony of the English government. During the last four years her establishment had been repeatedly reduced; she was without the society of any lady of suitable rank, and in vain solicited permission to receive Lady Athol, who had voluntarily offered to solace her captivity. †

Nor were these her only sources of complaint. The arrears of her dower in France remained unpaid; unnatural kinsmen and

* See two very spirited letters of Mary on this subject, in Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau. See also Chalmers' and Lodge's Illustrations of British History.

† From a letter in Lodge's Illustrations, it appears, that though the provisions were often not eatable, Mary's table was still furnished with sixteen dishes to each course, that the principal officers of the household had ten, and her ladies eight covers. They drank wine in abundance, and Mary had sometimes baths of wine for a pain or tumor in her side, to which she had been long subject.

Digitized by Google

mercenary allies conspired with unrelenting foes to complete her wretchedness; and but for the benevolence of a private individual, she would have been subjected to privations still more humiliating and afflictive. By the great Potentates of Europe, Mary had long seen her claims neglected or betrayed: perplexed by the counsels of Spain, alarmed with the requisitions of Rome, alternately sacrificed to the cupidity of a Guise, or the malice of a Medicis, it was in the Sieur de Castelnau alone that she discovered a real and disinterested benefactor; and to his personal mediation with the English ministers, she was more than once indebted for indulgence scarcely required by the cabinet of St. Germain. His purse was ever ready to supply her wants, and his excellent consort was unwearied in rendering those little offices of kindness which, to an afflicted heart, are without price. Touched by these demonstrations of a friendship which she had too well learnt to appreciate, Mary bestowed on Castelnau the bailliage of Vitry; but her gratitude was frustrated by the avarice of her nephew, the Duke of Guise, who virtually cancelled the appointment, and to his last hour the liberality of Castelnau was unrequited.*

In the mean time, Lord Shrewsbury, who

* See Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau.

Digitized by Google

during fifteen years had kept the Queen of Scots in his custody, obtained from his Sovereign a reluctant promise to release her; but it was not easy to meet with another nobleman equally faithful, to supply his place. At this juncture, the aged Sir Ralph Sadler, aided by his son-in-law Mr. Somers, consented to undertake the trust until a permanent guardian should be provided. On arriving at Wingfield, to which the Queen had been removed from Sheffield, the venerable statesman was struck with the change which time and suffering had produced in her appearance, and he ventured to express the belief, that as she was incapacitated by lameness and debility for personal exertion, there was little danger of her escaping from captivity. Yet this feeble helpless woman, who with tears deplored her inability to walk or even move without assistance, continued to be the *primum mobile* of the belligerent parties, by whose name the Catholics were excited to enterprize and the Protestants provoked to vengeance.

From the commencement of her imprisonment, Mary had credulously calculated on the interference of foreign potentates, and rashly addressed herself to their protection. She discovered not that the counsels of Spain and Rome were prompted by other motives than

Digitized by Google

her deliverance, and unwarily involved herself in a correspondence with unprincipled bigots, to whose conceptions perjury or murder was sanctified by religious duty, and who were more eager to deprive the Protestant cause of its great heroine, than to restore to the Catholics and to liberty her unfortunate rival. Among these were certain emissaries of the league, who lived but to disseminate their principles through Guise. These were men of ruined fortunes; but who constantly alarmed the vigilance of the English government. Morgan, who had been one of Mary's pensioners, escaped to France, and was afterwards committed to prison on the charge of having employed a villain to assassinate Elizabeth. Lord Paget and Throckmorton were also driven from England, the Earl of Arundel committed to the Tower, and, to counteract real or imaginary perils, an association was formed by the Protestants, binding themselves to prosecute unto death whoever should seek the Queen's life. Alarmed by these hostile indications, Mary asked to subscribe the bond for the defence of her rival's person; thus endeavouring to counteract the impressions which she feared had been conceived against her. Having taken this precaution, she signified her willingness to depart from Wingfield,

Digitized by Google

though the place selected for her residence was Tutbury Castle, for which she had ever shewn extreme repugnance. During her progress to Derby, she was escorted by the neighbouring gentry; an attention which, though prompted by suspicion, soothed her pride; and in a conversation with Mr. Somers, she protested, that if she could even regain her liberty, she would not live in Scotland, where she had been so ill used, but only give good advice to her son, and then retire to France; and she added, that she would rather die in prison with honour, than flee with shame. There were, however, moments when the fear of death seemed predominant; and she condescended to inquire in what manner her subscription to the bond of association had been accepted by Elizabeth.

In Tutbury Castle, though cold and comfortless, she was treated with kindness by Sadler, who twice permitted her to hawk on the banks of the Dove, an indulgence she knew how to appreciate; but such solace she enjoyed not long. Sir Ralph was superseded in his charge by Sir Amias Paulet, a puritan, the least humane of Mary's goalers, who gave a foretaste of his government, by banishing from her presence-chamber the royal canopy, embossed with the arms of Scotland and Lorrain,

Digitized by Google

a symbol of dignity in her eyes most precious.*

In a letter addressed to Mauvisière, from Tutbury, evidently dictated by anguish and despondence, Mary thus describes the complicated hardships and distresses of her situation.

" Aware that your answer cannot soon " reach me, I find it necessary to renew the " memorial of my grievances respecting the " remittance of my dowry, the augmentation " of my attendants, and a change of residence, " circumstances apparently trivial, and of " small importance to the Queen, my good " sister, but which I feel to be essential to the " preservation of my very existence. Neces- " sity alone could induce me to descend " to earnest and reiterated supplications, the " dearest price at which any boon can be pur- " chased. To convey to you an idea of my " present situation, I must premise, that I am " on all sides enclosed by fortified walls, on " the summit of a hill which lies exposed to " every wind of heaven: within these bounds, " not unlike the wood of Vincennes, is a very " old edifice, originally a hunting-lodge, built " merely of lath and plaster, the plaster in

* In her private apartment a smaller canopy remained. — Chalmers.

Digitized by Google

" many places crumbling away: this edifice,
" which is detached from the outer walls about
" twenty feet, is sunk so low that the rampart
" of earth behind is level with the highest part
" of the building, so that here the sun can
" never penetrate, neither does any pure air
" ever visit this habitation, on which descend
" drizzling damps and eternal fogs, to such
" excess, that not an article of furniture can
" be placed beneath the roof, but in four days
" it becomes covered with green mould. I
" leave you to judge in what manner such
" humidity must act upon the human frame;
" and, to say every thing in one word, the
" chambers appear more like cells prepared
" for the reception of the vilest criminals,
" than apartments suited to persons of a sta-
" tion far inferior to mine; and I believe there
" is neither lord nor gentleman, or even yeo-
" man in this kingdom, who would patiently
" endure the pennance.

" With regard to accommodation, I have for
" my own person but two miserable little cham-
" bers, so intensely cold during the night, that
" but for ramparts and entrenchments of tapes-
" try and curtains, it would be impossible to
" prolong my existence; of those who have sat
" up with me during my illness, not one has
" escaped disease. Sir Amias can testify that

Digitized by Google

" three of my women have been rendered
" ill by this severe temperature, and even my
" physician declines taking charge of my
" health the ensuing winter, unless I shall be
" permitted to change my habitation. With
" respect to convenience, I have neither
" gallery nor cabinet, if I except two little
" pigeon holes or closets, through which the
" only light admitted is from an aperture of
" about nine feet in circumference; for taking
" air and exercise, either on foot or in my
" chair, I have but about a quarter of an acre
" of ground behind the stables, round which
" Somers last year planted a quickset hedge,
" but which is a spot more fit for swine than
" to be cultivated as a garden; there is no
" shepherd's hut but has more grace and pro-
" portion. As to riding on horseback during
" the winter, I am sure to be impeded by
" floods of water or banks of snow, nor is there
" a road in which I could go for one mile in
" my coach without putting my limbs in jeo-
" pardy; abstracted from these real and
" positive inconveniences, I have conceived
" for the spot an antipathy which, in one ill
" as I am, might alone entitle me to some
" indulgences. As it was here that I first
" began to be treated with rigour and indig-
" nity, I have, from that time, conceived this

Digitized by Google

" mansion to be singularly unlucky to me;
" and in this sinister impression I have been
" confirmed by the tragical catastrophe of the
" poor priest, of whom I wrote to you; who,
" having been tortured for his religion, was at
" length found hanging in front of my win-
" dow.* It was here that I lost my good kind
" Rallay, who was one of the consolations of
" my captivity; another of my people is since
" dead, and sickness visits the survivors.
" Briefly, I can here have no comfort, and if
" I perish, must attribute my fate to suffer-
" ing and privation. With regard to the in-
" convenience of removing at this season, no
" attention was paid to it last year, when,
" whether I would or not, I was constrain-
" ed to depart, (though I had for. three
" months been confined to my bed,) and
" literally dragged hither to a house which,
" after having been uninhabited for fifteen
" years, was, in five weeks, prepared for my
" reception." †

By the interposition of the French court,

* The Catholic alluded to, had been persecuted for his religion; when to escape farther hardships, he hung himself in the manner described by Mary, who, on that occasion, addressed to Elizabeth an eloquent letter on the duty of allowing toleration. — See Laboureur.

† MSS. de Bethune, No. 8. b. 91. fol. 1 to 3.

Digitized by Google

Mary was in a few months removed from Tutbury to Chartley, but the number of her attendants was not augmented. Even in this state of desolation, she continued to be an object of interest to the enemies of Elizabeth, who hoped by her means to promote the object of the new Catholic League, for the extirpation of Protestantism in Europe.

In a letter from one of those fanatical emissaries engaged in a crusade against the Reformation, the Queen of Scots was earnestly importuned to accede to the holy league for the preservation of Christendom. Her aversion to sanguinary measures, had already offended the continental allies. "Much injury has been done to your cause (says the zealous La Rue,) by the rumour that your Majesty will not agree to *employ force*. The pope, a man of strict principles, is severe to heretics, and bent on their extermination."* To an enlightened mind, it would have been obvious that this continental coalition could only accelerate Mary's destruction; but even the small share of political judgment she had originally possessed was paralyzed by a tedious captivity, which not only debarred the means of improvement, but left her at the mercy of mischievous advisers, and incapable

* MSS. de Bethune, No. 88.

Digitized by Google

of resisting the impulse of exasperated and morbid feelings. During the last five years, the powers of her mind had evidently been enfeebled by calamity; the less she had of hope, the more tenacious were her pretensions to dignity and importance; to other disappointments, was added the bitter conviction that her son not only disdained the proposed association with herself, but that he had willingly coalesced with her rival. She was officiously informed by one of her foreign correspondents *, that at a dinner where the young king scarcely ventured to drink his mother's health, he repeatedly pledged that of the Queen of England.

The existence of real calamity does not always divert the sufferer from the contemplation of comparatively trivial evils. After a long and bitter experience of duplicity and unkindness on the part of Elizabeth, Mary complained, even to the obdurate Paulet, that, during her late indisposition, the Queen had not once enquired for her health.†

Convinced that she had nothing to hope from James or Elizabeth, the despairing captive now lent herself to the suggestions of Morgan, Lord Paget, and other fanatical visionaries,

* The priest Fontenay. See Murdin, p. 535.

† Chalmers.

Digitized by Google

who pretended that England was to be invaded, and that her liberty was to be obtained by force. At this period, a marked alteration was observed in her temper. She often declared that nothing but her blood would appease her enemies; but that, *when she was at the lowest, her heart was greatest, and that she would provoke her foes to the worst.** It should seem that the subsequent actions of Mary corresponded with these assertions.

It has been already remarked that Morgan was imprisoned in France, on the suspicion of having hired one Paget to assassinate Elizabeth. Lord Paget remained in that country unmolested, and Lord Arundel avoided captivity by voluntary exile. At this crisis, when the ascendency of the house of Guise, and the hostility of Spain, rendered Mary more than ever an object of political jealousy to the English cabinet, she renewed with Babington, a young man of fortune, a correspondence originally commenced at the recommendation of her friend Archbishop Beaton. During the suspension of their epistolary intercourse, Babington had been seduced, by the persuasions of Gifford, a fanatical priest, to engage in a conspiracy for the assassination of Elizabeth; and it was proposed that there should be an invasion of

* See Chalmers, from the Paper Office.

Digitized by Google

England by Spanish troops, whilst a simultaneous insurrection of the Catholics was to open the gates of Mary's prison, and raise her to that throne to which she had so long aspired. Of this execrable plot, it may be observed, that though it was directed against Elizabeth's existence, it could scarcely fail to accellerate the destruction of her unfortunate rival. Resolved, however, to make one desperate effort for her release, Mary rashly suggested in reply, that her rescue should be attempted, either by setting fire to the stables, or by surprising her when riding in the fields: to this was also added a passage, (which she afterwards disclaimed,) promising ample recompence to the seven conspirators engaged in the assassination of Elizabeth *; on this single sentence rested the presumption of Mary's actual participation in the guilty enterprize which had been planned without her knowledge, and without her agency was to be executed; neither could she be expected to denounce the friends who devoted themselves to her cause, although prudence should have taught her to

* Both Camden and Castelnau concur in representing Mary as not having dictated the passages which she disclaimed, the genuineness of which rests on the evidence of two secretaries, who had notoriously betrayed the mistress with whom they were never confronted.

Digitized by Google

decline the inefficient and preposterous means which were offered for her release. It appears not, however, that she entertained any sanguine expectations of success; and with such vigilance was she guarded by Paulet, that not only had the plot been discovered, but the conspirators were actually tried and executed before she was apprized of the event. At length a messenger, charged with important intelligence, arrived at Chartley just as Mary was mounting her horse for exercise. Even then she was suffered to leave the house in ignorance of the impending evil; and whilst her cabinet was ransacked by Paulet, and its contents, including letters from the prime nobility of England, were forwarded to Elizabeth, the ill-fated Queen was conducted on a pleasurable excursion to a neighbouring mansion, where she was recived with every demonstration of respect; nor till the next morning was she aware of her critical situation, when she heard, with strong emotion, that she was implicated in the late conspiracy against her kinswoman. On leaving Tixhall she wept; and appealing to the compassion of the bystanders, exclaimed, "Good gentlemen, I "am innocent*; I know nothing of the man

* Chalmers, from the Paper Office.

Digitized by Google

" who was to kill the Queen." On her return to Chartley, she had regained her self-possession, and perceiving that not only her money, but even her papers were removed, she observed with dignified composure, " they " cannot take from me my English blood, " or my Catholic religion." *

Exulting in the evidence which had been obtained from her two secretaries for the crimination of the Queen of Scots, the English ministers transmitted copies of her intercepted letters, accompanied by the depositions of the conspirators, to the court of France, where, though her misfortunes might be commiserated, her imprudence was loudly censured by the enemies of her house, and privately ridiculed by Catherine de Medicis. In Scotland the intelligence excited painful interest. But when Courcelles, the French minister, attempted to rouse James to vigorous efforts for his mother's safety; the young king (who had just concluded a treaty with Elizabeth) replied, " that as she brewed, she must drink †," and eagerly dispatched a messenger to London, to testify his own abhorrence of the late wicked conspiracy. It is, however, but fair to state, that he conceived not Mary's life to be endangered; and for any thing else, " he

* Lodge. † MSS. de Bethune.

Digitized by Google

" confessed he cared not how strictly she was " kept a prisoner," adding, in allusion to what had escaped her, in a moment of irritation, that she had not only sought to dethrone him, but menaced him with disinheritance, as he could prove by her own letters.* In the meanwhile, the King of France besought Elizabeth at least to treat Mary with the respect and commiseration due to her sex, her rank, and her misfortunes: if she were arraigned before any criminal tribunal, he suggested that she should be allowed counsel, inasmuch as she was a stranger to the laws of England, and had lived nearly twenty years in absolute seclusion. Elizabeth was at first perplexed in what manner to conduct a criminal process against a sister queen. No less jealous than Mary of royal privilege, she rejected a public trial as indecorous, but at length adopted the expedient of sending the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and forty peers and privy counsellors, to examine the Queen of Scots, to hear her defence, and afterwards to report the same to the star-chamber, where finally judgment was to be pronounced. Nothing could be more informal than this procedure, — more derogatory to every principle of law

* Courcelles, No. 1513. MSS. de Bethume. — The letters alluded to are inserted by Laboureur.

Digitized by Google

and justice; without either counsel or advocate, Mary was to confront the legislative and judicial power of a kingdom, in which she was at once a foreigner and a captive, a devoted victim to suspicion or to vengeance. Elizabeth too late discovered, that her compulsory detention of a sister queen had created to herself and the state, dangers and perplexities such as neither the navies of Spain, nor the armies of France, could have called into existence.

Previous to this arrangement, Mary had been removed from Chartley; and it is probable that in this, her last journey, although undertaken under mournful auspices, she had less of positive suffering than she had experienced in former excursions. The season was still fine; though strictly guarded, she was not debarred the society of her female attendants; and when she stopped at Buxton, she traced with her pencil, on a pane of glass, a Latin distich, not inappropriate to her uncertain fate.

" Buxtonæ quæ tepida celebrabere numine lymphæ,
" Buxtona, fortè iterum non adeunda, vale!" *

* Buxton, whose tepid fountains' power
Far-famed, can health restore;
Buxton, farewell! I go, perchance,
To visit thee no more.

Digitized by Google

In approaching Northamptonshire, she beheld the softer features of English scenery; and finally, on reaching Fotheringhay Castle, she saw herself lodged in a mansion more pleasant and commodious than any that had hitherto been allotted to her residence. Nor was it to her a circumstance of trivial import that she was received by the Constable of the castle, Sir William Fitzwilliam, of Milton *, with a respectful courtesy and spontaneous kindness, far different from the dry precision of Paulet, or even the plausible address of Shrewsbury.

Of Fotheringhay Castle there were, however, many legends, which in the captive's ear must have sounded like the knell of death; and of the royal occupants of this castle, it was remarked, that few of them had arrived at old age. It had been the sepulchre of Richard Duke of York, and the birth-place of his son Richard the Third. It was a favorite mansion of Catherine of Arragon, but in the reign of her daughter Mary converted to a state prison, in which, for a short time, was immured the young and handsome Earl of Courtney. From that period, this castle had received no captive, until Mary entered its walls. That she had

* Ancestor of Earl Fitzwilliam.

Digitized by Google

a presentiment of her approaching fate, may be inferred from the French sonnets she composed on the occasion, which are the more remarkable, as she had previously renounced poetical efforts. She had not long leisure for elegant trifles*: on the eleventh of October arrived in state the commissioners appointed for her trial, who lost no time in apprizing the Queen of Scots of their object, and in producing the mandate from which they derived their authority. On receiving the

* *Written on a large sheet of paper.*

Que suis-je, hélas? et de quoi sert la vie?
Je'n suis fors qu'un corps privé de cœur,
Un ombre vain, un objet de malheur,
Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir en vie.
Plus ne me portez — O ennemis d'envie:
Qui n'a plus l'esprit à la grandeur,
Votre ire en bref devoir assouvir.
Et vous amis qui m'avez tenu chère,
Souvenez-vous que sans cœur, et sans santé,
Je ne sçaurois aucun bon œuvre faire;
Souhaitez donc fin de la calamité.

Alas! what am I? and in what estate?
A wretched corse, bereaved of its heart;
An empty shadow, lost, unfortunate;
To die is now in life my only part.
Foes to my greatness, let your envy rest;
In me no taste for grandeur now is found,
Consumed by grief, with heavy ills opprest,
Your wishes and desires will soon be crowned.

Digitized by Google

deputation, among whom was the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, Mary objected with vehemence to the outrage offered to royalty, and positively refused so far to compromise her sovereign dignity, as to acknowledge herself amenable to another potentate.* Her resistance at first embarrassed the judges; but finally, notwithstanding the vehemence of her assertions, she was induced, with her wonted facility, to confront the commissioners, in order to clear herself from the charge of having conspired with the assassins against her cousin's life. Having carried this point, the commissioners proceeded in their mission. To invest the transaction with pomp and solemnity, the hall of the castle had been fitted up to represent a court of justice. At the upper end was placed a vacant chair of state, over which was suspended the regal canopy of

---

And you, my friends, who still have held me dear,
Bethink you, that when health and heart are fled,
And every hope of future good is dead,
'Tis time to wish our sorrows ended here,
And that this punishment on earth is given,
That I may live to endless bliss in heaven.

SEWARD'S *Anecdotes.*

* On the 12th Lord Burleigh published a manifesto of the wrongs committed by Mary against Elizabeth, beginning with the assumption of the arms of England.

Digitized by Google

England; on either side were benches, on which peers and barons sat in gradation; opposite to these the judges and barons of the exchequer; and in the centre, at a small table, the counsel for the crown were seated.* When Mary entered, it might have been expected, that, after a seclusion of nineteen years, she would experience some embarrassment in confronting a numerous assembly; but indignation took place of every other feeling, when she perceived in front of the Queen's chair another seat allotted to herself, but over which no canopy was suspended†; and with that tenacity of rank which she had been taught to identify with honor, she vehemently appealed against this unprecedented degradation. In the mean while, the commissioners having taken their places, an examination, or rather a conference, commenced respecting the correspondence with Babington, a fact established by the depositions of the other conspirators, and the testimony of the secretaries Naue and Curle. Mary denied that she had received letters from Babington, and contended, that for what her secretaries had written, she was not responsible. Neither, she continued, was the testimony of treacherous ser-

* Camden.

† MSS. de Bethune. — Camden.

Digitized by Google

vants entitled to credit. To the letters which were produced from the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, respecting the invasion of England, she answered, "This is nothing to the matter, "neither does it prove that I consented to "hurt, or kill the Queen."

Amongst other things, the Lord Burleigh alleged, "that she had projected to send her "son into Spain, and to assign over to the "Spanish king whatever rights she claimed "to the English succession. Her answer "was, that she had no realm she could give "away, but yet it was lawful to give away "her own things at pleasure." When pressed with the concurrent testimony of Naue and Curle, she repeated her former assertions, denying the reception of the letters. The Lord Treasurer observed, that she knew Morgan, who had commissioned Parry to kill the Queen, and had bestowed on him a pension. She replied, that Morgan, having been ruined in her service, she was bound in honor to relieve him. "But," retorted she, "pen-"sions have been given by England to my "sworn enemy, Patrick Gray." * On being shown the contents of her letter to Lord Paget and Mendoza, soliciting foreign aid,

* Camden.

Digitized by Google

she answered, "These things touch not the "Queen; and if strangers seek to deliver me, "it is not to be imputed to me as a crime." On the following day, she repeated her protestations against the proceedings of the commissioners; and with her usual tenacity of royalty, lamented, "that she should be so "basely used as to have her honor called in "question before pettifoggers and lawyers, "who drew every circumstance into conse-"quence by their quiddities and tricks, since "anointed and consecrated princes were not "subject to the same laws as private men." * She also reminded them, "how Elizabeth "herself had been drawn into the conspiracy "of Wyat, when she was most innocent; re-"ligiously affirming, that though she wished "well to the catholic cause, she would not "have it prosper by the blood of vengeance; "that she had rather play the part of Esther "than Judith." The Lord Burleigh proceeding to sum up the evidence, again insisted on Parry's commission to kill Queen Elizabeth. "You are my professed enemy," cried she. "Rather," he answered, "the enemy of all "who would destroy the Queen, my sovereign." When pressed with having instigated the in-

* Udal.

Digitized by Google

vasion of England, she denied the fact; but added, in a menacing tone, which not even her apprehension of danger could induce her to suppress, "that since she was now convinced "she had no hope from England, she was "resolved not to reject foreign aid." She again demanded to be heard in full parliament, or before the Queen and Council, and at length arose, withdrew with a cheerful countenance, and with a majesty of demeanour that seemed to challenge respect. The court was immediately adjourned to the star-chamber, where finally, in despite of fortune, sentence was pronounced against her.* An act of attainder followed, but it was declared, that this should not prejudice her son, the King of Scots.†

After the trial, Mary, in an interview with Paulet, made many minute enquiries respecting those commissioners with whom she had not been acquainted, and even animadverted on their respective speeches with perfect composure. It was not long before Lord Buckhurst, accompanied by Beale, the clerk of the council, arrived at Fotheringhay, officially to announce her sentence. She received the intimation

* Camden. — Udal. — MMS. de Bethune.
† Chalmers.

Digitized by Google

with a serene countenance, and devoutly thanked God that she was by him chosen to die for the manifestation of her religious faith, and by the sacrifice of her life, to be made instrumental to its restoration to this country. She entreated to be favored with the presence of a Catholic priest; and, although this satisfaction was refused her, she seemed to rise above the frailties of humanity, since she heard from Paulet, without any visible emotion, that her sentence had been published through the kingdom, and celebrated with bonfires and demonstrations of triumph. Nor did she shrink when that officious minister of tyranny took down even the small canopy which had hitherto been permitted to remain in her apartment. To these indignities she had only to oppose a magnanimous resignation and an inflexible resolution that her dying words, even her last looks, should be such as became the Queen of Scots.

When it was notorious that Mary had been condemned, James interceded for her life; but his messenger was ill chosen in the Master of Gray, of whom it was notorious that he had written to the ambassador, Archibald Douglas, *that the interests of all honest men required this Queen to be put out of the way.* After this, it could little excite surprise that he should mere-

Digitized by Google

ly have advised the English ministers to hasten her fate, shrewdly observing, that the *dead* could not *bite*.*

To the honor of Henry the Third of France, he was earnest in his efforts to preserve Mary's life. His reiterated importunities drew an acrimonious answer from Elizabeth, whose vengeance was roused by the discovery of a new plot against her own existence, attributed to the machinations of the French ambassador, Aubespine Chateauneuf†, a man confessedly devoted to the house of Guise; and whether the charge were real or fictitious, it furnished a plausible pretext to the enemies of the captive Queen to hasten her death.

Ignorant of these sinister intrigues, Mary addressed to Elizabeth a farewell letter, in which she renewed her protestations of innocence, disclaimed all vindictive feelings, and solicited as a last favor, that her body might be transported to France, and consigned to the vault which contained her mother's remains.

* Murdin, p. 569.

† The charge was repelled by the ambassador with contempt; and by Castelnau and Laboureur it is considered as a fictitious conspiracy. Camden lays great stress on the pretended assassination; but the quietness with which Lord Burleigh accepted Chateauneuf's apology, forms, in reality, his best exculpation. — Camden. — MSS. de Bethune. — Rapin.

Digitized by Google

To this was added an urgent request, that she might be allowed to receive the consolations of religion in her last moments. She promised to return a jewel once given her by Elizabeth, as a token of love, and entreated permission to bequeath some memorial of affection to her son, with her maternal benediction, of which, she adds, "he has been "deprived since you announced to me his "refusal to accede to the association between "us, a measure in which I was compromised "by pernicious counsel: the last point I leave "to your discretion, and to the conscience of "others; but I conjure you in the name of our "Redeemer, by the ties of blood, by the memory of Henry VII. our ancestor, by the "honor and dignity of that sex common to us "both, that you deny not my petition. To conclude, I know not whether you are aware, that "in your name they have removed the royal "canopy from my apartment. It has since been "attributed to the suggestions of your council. "I bless God, that this last cruelty, which "served only to gratify malice and to trouble "my dying moments, came not from you. God "be praised for all! If you grant these my "last prayers, allow me to receive the assurance under your own hand. May the "God of mercy and truth illumine you with

Digitized by Google

" his Holy Spirit, and give to me grace to die
" in perfect charity and forgiveness."

Notwithstanding her condemnation, it is not improbable that Mary, recollecting the forbearance which Elizabeth had shown in 1572, still looked forward to a protracted, though miserable existence. Although perfectly aware, that there were many individuals in England, Scotland, and France, chiefly among those from whom she had received injuries, who passionately desired her death; she was persuaded that Elizabeth, who abhorred the Puritans, would be loth to yield to their malice so acceptable a victim.

With reflections such as these, she beguiled the two winter months that she passed in the comparatively agreeable residence of Fotheringhay. Her health had lately improved, although she was still lame, and occasionally attacked with paroxysms of pain, during which she was utterly incapable of rising from her bed.

During this suspense, Mary often expressed her anxiety, that on the day appointed for her execution, she should at least be able to conduct herself with the dignity and propriety befitting the Queen of Scots. Early in February, her attendants observed the bustle of preparation in various parts of the castle.

Digitized by Google

New arrivals indicated impending change, which Paulet chose not to divulge to their mistress. On the evening of the seventh of February, just as Mary had withdrawn to her inner chamber, the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury demanded to see her. At the summons, Mary, ever tenacious of princely dignity, ordered her sole remaining badge of royalty, the ermined mantle, to be brought from the other apartment, and having thrown it over her shoulders, hasted to receive her visitors, whose errand was bluntly announced by the Earl of Kent, whilst the Earl of Shrewsbury, with visible emotion, remained silent.*

When Mary heard that she was to die on the morrow, she replied, with an unaltered countenance, "The message is welcome; yet "I did not think the Queen, my sister, would "have consented to my death." She then asked to be allowed to confer with her almoner, her steward, and her confessor. The presence of her confessor was peremptorily refused by the Earl of Kent, who exhorted her to commune with the Dean of Peterborough; and when Mary declined accepting

* Blackwood. — MSS. de Bethune. — Howard's Anecdotes of the House of Howard.

Digitized by Google

such assistance, he exclaimed, "Your life is "the death of our religion, as your death "shall be its life."

The Earls having withdrawn, Mary desired that her household might be assembled for supper, during which she conversed with cheerfulness, and reverting to the Earl of Kent's speech, said to her physcian, "See, Bourgoin, "the force of truth;—they pretend that I am "to die for having sought to kill the Queen, "and yet the Earl said just now, my death "was necessary to the life of their religion." Towards the close of the repast she drank to each of her servants, who, kneeling, pledged her in return, mingling tears with their wine, and beseeching their mistress to pardon their various offences. In like manner she asked of them eternal forgiveness. During this interchange of good will, all but the Queen burst into transports of grief: she endeavoured to soothe their complaints, lamenting only that she could so ill requite their fidelity. After supper, having selected from her wardrobe certain articles, to be presented as parting memorials to the King and two Queens of France, her aunt Réne, (who was still living at Rheims,) and her ever-beloved Anne of Este, she distributed her money, linen, and jewels among her domestics; she then wrote her will on two sheets

Digitized by Google

of paper, without reading it over; and finally addressed letters to the King of France, the Duke of Guise, and her confessor. In the two first, Mary, with unabated solicitude to leave no friendly service unrequited, strenuously recommended the Bishop of Ross to her royal kinsmen, and bequeathed to their protection her poorer servants. In the epistle to her confessor she expressed the deepest sorrow that she had been denied the privilege of communicating with him in her last moments, but consoled herself by the persuasion that she was deemed worthy to die for the Catholic faith. After this arrangement of her worldly concerns, she besought her women to pray for her, whilst she retired to rest. At midnight she rose, refreshed by sleep, and repairing to her oratory, dropt on her knees, and remained several hours in devout and fervent supplication. The tears she shed were no longer those of passion but of contrition and piety, and they were accompanied with touching expressions of humility and resignation. In the sacred moment of self-examination, when neither the frailty of youth, nor the vanity of ambition could be remembered without sorrow or disgust, she perhaps hailed as a deliverer the approach of death, by which she was to be for ever rescued from the trials and tempta-

Digitized by Google

tions incident to human existence. That she considered her sentence as unmerited can scarcely be doubted, whether this be referred to the delusions of enthusiasm, or that she had really been the victim of treacherous confidents. It appears equally certain that she recollected, with deep compunction, the compromise she had occasionally made of her religious principles to conciliate the enemies of the apostolic church, and that to expiate this offence, in her conceptions almost the greatest of which a Catholic prince could be capable, she fervently aspired to the crown of martyrdom.

When the morning dawned, Mary quitted the oratory to attire herself for the mournful solemnity. Even in this awful moment, the ruling passion of her soul, the pride of royalty, continued to operate, and she issued from her chamber clad in such princely robes, as she had been accustomed to wear on festivals, in the days of her prosperity; a black veil descended to her feet, an ivory crucifix hung suspended from her neck, and a string of beads was appended to her girdle.* At this late hour she called together her house-

* Camden.—A more detailed description is given in the letter to Lord Burleigh.—See note at the end of the volume.

Digitized by Google

hold, and read aloud her will; when finding that she had omitted to mention one of her servants, she returned to her cabinet, in order to supply the omission, and to subjoin a post-script to her farewell letter to the King of France. Before she had finished, the sheriff and Beale, accompanied by Sir Amias Paulet, arrived to conduct her to the scaffold. On hearing the summons, she requested but one quarter of an hour's delay, which being granted, she soon completed her task; and, cheerfully opening the door, presented herself to Sir Amias and the sheriff, who were waiting in the anti-chamber. Having passed the threshold of her prison, she courteously accepted the assistance of Paulet, to traverse the long gallery, observing, it was the last trouble she should ever give him. In the gallery she was met by her steward, Melvin, whose pathetic lamentation she eagerly interrupted, telling him, he ought rather to rejoice that the trials and troubles of Mary Stuart were at length to have an end;—and "bear from me," she added, "this message to Scotland, that I die a "true woman to my religion, and like a true "woman of Scotland and France. But God "forgive them that have thirsted for my blood, "as the hart doth for the water brooks. O "God! thou art truth; thou knowest the in-

Digitized by Google

" ner chamber of my thoughts, and that I " was ever willing that England and Scot- " land * should be united together. Commend " me to my son, and tell him I have done " nothing prejudicial to the state or the king- " dom of Scotland." After which, tears trickling down her cheeks, she kissed Melvin, and solemnly bade him adieu. Then, turning to the Earls, she asked if some of her servants might be permitted to witness her last moments? and this being harshly denied, Mary descended to entreaty, reminding them that their mistress, herself a maiden queen, could not wish they should withhold the boon. Perceiving that the Earls still demurred, tears of indignation started to her eyes, and she vehemently exclaimed, " I am cousin to your Queen, am " descended of the blood royal of Henry the " Seventh, Dowager Queen of France, anointed " Queen of Scotland." † The Earl of Kent no longer resisted her importunity; and she chose from her domestics Melvin, who was allowed to bear her train, Burgoin, her physician, and two female attendants. In this manner she proceeded, till she once more found herself in the hall of Fotheringhay Castle, and in the

* Udal.

† Udal. Camden.—Howard's Anecdotes of the House of Howard. Burleigh Papers.

Digitized by Google

presence of three hundred spectators, who beheld, with looks of commiseration, the symptoms of infirmity and suffering which her person indicated. Although the symmetry of her form had long been destroyed, her air bespoke majesty, her complexion was still fine, her eyes retained their touching sweetness of expression, and her countenance was lighted up by a smile of devout exultation.

At one end of the hall, so lately the scene of judicial pageantry, appeared a platform, somewhat raised from the ground, hung with green cloth, and inclosed by an iron railing, which was evidently prepared for the sanguinary spectacle, though, by a mockery of refinement, the symbols of death were concealed from the prisoner's view, and she could neither discern the block, which was covered with black, nor recognize the executioners, who, in the manner of Turkish mutes, stood behind the sable arras. To this spot Mary advanced with dignified composure, when she suffered herself to be lifted to the stage by her faithful Melvin, and was immediately placed on a seat provided for her accommodation. Her attendants followed, and among them glided in a little shag dog, who, crouching down with the privilege of an established favorite, hid herself under her royal robes.

Digitized by Google

The warrant for the Queen's execution being read, to which she deigned not to listen, the Dean of Peterborough approached the platform to expostulate with her on the errors of her faith. It was in vain that she replied her principles were fixed and unchangeable. He persisted in reciting an English prayer, during which she repeated in Latin the office to the Virgin, and finally prayed aloud in English for the afflicted church, for the Queen of England, and for her son, the King of Scotland. The executioners, who had hitherto remained behind, now came forward to ask and receive forgiveness, and divesting herself of her ornaments, she smilingly observed she had not been used to undress before so much company. Then perceiving that her female attendants could no longer controul their grief, she tenderly embraced them, begging that for her sake they would perform the last service. Instantly Jane Kennedy produced a silk handkerchief, elaborately perfumed, with which, having devoutly pressed it to her lips, she bandaged her beloved mistress, and was instantly removed from the spot; and now kneeling down, Mary felt for the block, which till this moment had been covered, and grasping the chain by which her crucifix was suspended, softly, repeated, "In thee, O Lord,

Digitized by Google

" have I put my trust; let me never be con-
" founded."

The fatal stroke was then given; and, in a moment, the cry of, " So perish the enemies " of Queen Elizabeth!" received from the Earl of Kent a responsive amen. During this mournful spectacle the little favourite dog, starting from the robes under which he had been concealed, lavished caresses on the insensible corse; and lying down between the headless shoulders, moaned piteously whilst he licked the blood of his murdered mistress. Touched by this instance of brute sympathy, the executioner suffered him to keep his place; even the Earl of Kent showed the poor animal an indulgence denied to the last moments of Mary Stuart; and such was the impression this trait of animal fidelity produced in statesmen and courtiers, who had discarded all faith in human attachments, that it was deemed worthy of being honorably recorded in the official accounts transmitted to Lord Burleigh.*

* Beale's Narrative. In one account the dog is said to have died in two days after his mistress; Blackwood states that a great princess (meaning Anne of Este) had passionately desired to have him in her possession. See also in Sanderson's History of Mary and James, p. 12. — Howard's Anecdotes of the House of Howard.

Digitized by Google

The body of the deceased Queen †, having been royally embalmed, was deposited in a superb coffin, and, after an interval of six months, interred in the cathedral of Peterborough. Her domestics remained long in confinement; and, what appears extraordinary, an embargo was laid on every port; not even the ambassadors being allowed to transmit to their respective courts their ordinary dispatches. In Edinburgh, the news of Mary's execution transpired not till three weeks after the event.* It is not easy to develope the motives for this refined policy; but it is certain that the artifices employed by the Queen of England to persuade the world that she had not intended to sanction her kinswoman's death, neither deceived her subjects, nor blinded the potentates of Europe. It is, however, palpable, that she recoiled from the ignominy of openly destroying the existence of that unfortunate kinswoman,—allured by promises of protection, betrayed with professions of friendship,—whom eighteen years of captivity and misery had irritated almost to madness. But this was not all: if Elizabeth hated Mary, she abhorred the puritans by whom she had been persecuted, and grudged them the

* Courcelles. MSS. de Bethune. See Davison's Apology.

Digitized by Google

triumph they were eager to obtain over her catholic rival. Much has been said of female jealousy, and much attributed to petty malice; but, in reality, Mary was herself aware that the ministers of the English Queen were more inimical than their mistress to her preservation. To the impartial examiner, the conduct of the English cabinet appears to have been regulated by those views of policy and expediency, which, though sometimes disclaimed, have been generally practised both by antient and modern governments; but society no longer approves those measures of oppression in which it is compelled to acquiesce. In theory, at least, mankind have acquired a purer and a better system; and Elizabeth, in this age, is censured for a measure, which in her own was invested with the name of justice, dignity, and even hallowed with the praise of magnanimity.

Digitized by Google

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

PAGE 37. CHAP. I.

THE original French of Mary's Farewell to France:

Adieu, plaisant pays de France,
O ma patrie
La plus chérie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!
Adieu, France! adieu, mes beaux jours!
La nef qui déjoint mes amours
N'a cy de moi que la moitié;
Une parte te reste; elle este tienne;
Je la fie à ton amitié
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne.

Elégie de MARIE STUART, *sur la mort de François II., son Mari.*

I.

En mon triste et doux chant,
D'un ton fort lamentable,
Je jette un œil trachant,
De perte incomparable,
Et en soupirs cuisans,
Passe mes meilleurs ans.

Digitized by Google

II.

Fût-il un tel malheur,
De dure destinée,
Ni si triste douleur,
De dame Fortunée,
Qui mon cœur et mon œil
Voit en biere et cercueil.

III.

Qui en mon doux printemps,
Et fleurs de ma jeunesse
Toutes les peines sens,
D'une extrême tristesse,
Et en rien n'ay plaisir
Qu'en regret et désir.

IV.

Ce qui m'estoit plaisant,
Ores m'est peine dure,
Le jour le plus luisant,
M'est nuit noire et obscure,
Et n'est rien si exquis,
Qui de moi soit requis.

V.

J'ay au cœur et à l'œil,
Un pourtraict et image,
Qui figure mon dueil,
Et mon pasle visage,
De violettes teint,
Qui est l'amoureux teint.

Digitized by Google

VI.

Pour mon mal estranger,
Je ne m'arreste en place,
Mais j'en ay eu beau changer,
Si ma douleur j'efface,
Car mon pis et mon mieux
Sont les plus deserts lieux.

VII.

Si en quelque séjour,
Soit en bois ou en prée,
Soit sur l'aube du jour,
Ou soit sur la vesprée,
Sans cesse mon cœur sent,
Le regret d'un absent.

VIII.

Si par fois vers les Cieux
Viens à dresser ma veuë,
Le doux trait de ses yeux,
Je voy en une nuë,
Soudain le vois en l'eau,
Comme dans un tombeau.

IX.

Si je suis en repos,
Sommeillant sur ma couche,
L'oy qu'il me tient propos,
Je le sens qui me touche
En labeur et requoi,
Tousjours est près de moy.

Digitized by Google

X.

Je ne vois autre objet,
Pour beau qui se présente,
A qui que soit sujet,
Oncques mon cœur consente,
Exempt de perfection
A cette affection.

XI.

Mets, chanson, ici fin,
Et si triste complainte,
Dont sera le refrin,
Amour vraye et non feinte,
Pour la séparation,
N'aura diminution.

PAGE 40. CHAP. I.

Of the poet Chatelard, mentioned by Brantome as one of the Queen's companions in this voyage, and who afterwards occasioned her much vexation, the following account is extracted from Chalmers' Life of Mary: —

" When the Queen arrived from France, there " came, in the train of Mons. d'Anville, one Chate- " lard, a gentleman by birth, a soldier by profession, " a scholar from education, and a poet by choice. " He returned with d'Anville to France, after enjoy- " ing, from the rank of his protector, the various " amusements of Mary's court, and feeling the influ- " ence of Mary's manners, Chatelard liked whom and " and what he saw well enough to visit those various

Digitized by Google

" objects again. In November, 1562, he arrived, as " we have seen, with letters from d'Anville and others, " for the Queen, and was well received; because he " was favourably recollected by every one at court, " except by all those who delighted in promoting " Randolph's intrigues and Murray's views. If we " might believe Knox, who constantly thinks that his " motives may justify his means, we ought to be of " opinion, that the Queen used such personal free- " doms with Chatelard, as to justify him in using " similar freedoms in return. He proceeded the " full length, on the 12th of February, 1562-3, of " concealing himself in the Queen's bedchamber, " when she was about to retire into it for the night, " with his sword and dagger beside him. This fact " being concealed from the Queen by her female at- " tendants, from prudential motives, till the morning, " the Queen commanded Chatelard out of her sight. " The Queen, with a part of her train, left Edinburgh " on the 13th, and slept at Dunfermling. On the " 14th, she proceeded to Burnt Island, where " she slept. Chatelard, notwithstanding, followed " her into Fife, and came to Burnt Island on the " 14th. And the Queen having retired into her bed- " chamber, Chatelard presented himself before her, " coming in immediately after her, to clear himself, " as he said, from the former imputation against his " conduct. Astonished at his audacity, ' the Queen " herself was fain to cry for help.' The Earl of Mur- " ray was sent for, when the Queen, amidst her " *agitations*, commanded her minister to put his dag- " ger into him. But Murray thought proper to send

Digitized by Google

" him to ward; reserving this daring or infatuated " miscreant to the due course of law, which would " lay open the whole transaction. The chancellor, " the justice clerk, and other counsellors, were sent " for to Edinburgh. This wretched enthusiast was " tried in a few days at St. Andrew's, and on the " 22d of February was executed; ' reading over, on " the scaffold,' says Brantome, ' Ronsard's Hymn on " Death, as the only preparation for the fatal stroke.'"

The bitter prejudices of Knox disposed him to receive and to propagate the most absurd slanders against his sovereign. But that his invidious insinuations respecting Chatelard were disbelieved, even by his own party, is evident, since they were not mentioned during Mary's confinement at Lochleven, when the rebel Lords, anxious to excuse their violence, at first proposed to accuse her of tyranny, and then of various illicit intrigues, but finally abandoned both charges as untenable.

PAGE 65. CHAP. II.

Extrait from the Menu de la Maison de la Royne, fait par Monsieur Pinguillon.

MENU DE CUISNE BOUCHE.

A Jour de Chair.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Quatre platz entrés de table.

* Published by —— Thompson, Esq.

Digitized by Google

Bouil.

Vne pce beuf roialle.
Vng hault couste mouton.
Vng chappon.

Rost.

Vng membre mouton.
Vng chappon.
Trois poulletz ou pigz.
Trois gibiers.
Deux gros.

Soupper.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Quatre platz entrés de table.

Bouil.

Vng hault couste mouton.
Vng chappon.

Rost.

Vng membre mouton.
Vng chappon.
Trois gibiers.
Trois poulletz or pigz.
Vng paste de trois poulletz ou pigz.
Deux gros et demy.

TABLE DES DAMES.

A Jour de Chair.

Disner.

Quatre platz entrés de table.
Quatre platz poutaige.

Digitized by Google

Boueil.

Deux pièces beuf.
Deux chappons.
Deux pieces mouton ou la vall.

Rost.

Deux chappons.
Deux gibiers.
Quatre poulletz ou pigz.
Vng gros.
Deux pces mouton ou la vall.

Soupper.

Quatre platz entrés de table.
Et quatre platz poutaige.

Rost.

Deux chappons.
Deux gibiers.
Quatre poulletz ou pigz.
Deuz poulletz.
Vng gros et dr.
Deux pces mouton.

TABLE DES FILLES DAMOISELLES.

A Jour de Chair.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Quatre platz entrés de table.

Boueil.

Vng piece de beuf.

Digitized by Google

Vng chappon.
Vne piece mouton ou la vall.

Rost.

Vng chappon.
Vng gibier.
Deux poulletz ou pigz.
Dy gros.
Vne piece de mouton ou la vall.

Soupper.

Quatre platz entrés de table.
Et quatre platz poutaige.

Rost.

Vng chappon.
Vng gibier.
Deux poulletz ou pigz.
Vng groset dy.
Vne pce mouton ou la vall.

MENEU DE CUISINE BOUCHE.

A Jour de Poisson.

Pour la Royne.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Viii plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Viii plastz rost.

Digitized by Google

TABLE DES OFFICIERS CUISINE BOUCHE.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaiges.
Cinq plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Cinq plastz de rost.

DISTRIBUTION DE BURRE.

En lad cuisine de bouche par jor xii lbz burre.
Oeufz pour lad dame disner et soupper, xii oeufz.
Pour les officiers de lad cuisine, - - xii oeufz.
Soe toute de cuisine de bouche a jor de poisson.
Xxvi plastz rost, xxiiii oeufz.

Cuisine com. a Jour de Poisson.

TABLE DES Mrs. D'HOSTEL.

Disner.

Quatre plastz poutaige.
Xii plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Xii plastz rost.

TABLE DES DAMES.

Disner.

Quatre plastz poutaige.
Dix plastz rost.

Digitized by Google

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.

Dix plastz rost.

Et sera prins garde de diminuer ladite table. Apres-que Mademoiselle Pinguillon font patins, j'en sont allies en France.

PAGE 66. CHAP. II.

A CATALOGUE OF THE QUEEN'S LIBRARY,

Extracted from the History of the Inventories, *by* —— *Thompson, Esq.*

In the First, the Sixth, and last Volume of the Old Chronicles of England, in French.

The second volume, the fifth volume, the fourth volume, Lucan, Suetonius, and Sallust, in French.

The first volume of the Catalogue of the Saints, in French.

Quintius Curtius Giron (Curtas).

Third volume of Titus Livius.

The works of Allane Chaster.

An Oration to the King of France, of the Queen's own hand-writing.

The eleventh book of St. Augustin.

The first book of St. Augustin.

The first book of Rolland amoureuse.

The Government of Princes, written in parchment.

The first book of Amadis de Gaul.

One part of Plutarch, in French.

Valerius Maximus, in French.

The Legend Aurie..

La Mere des Histoires.

Digitized by Google

The first vol. of Vita Christi.

Four vols. of La Mere des Histories, covered with white parchment.

Chronicle Martinan.

The play of the Chas.

The Chronicles of Savoy.

The Book of Hunting.

The Explanation of the Charter of Calais.

Three Lives of Alexander the Great, and other Nobles.

The Decameron of Boccacio.

The Mirror of Human Redemption.

Boetius de Consolatione.

The Garden of Pleasure.

Two volumes of Lancelot de Laik.

One great volume of Chronica Chronicorum.

A Compend of the Chronicles in Spaniol.

One book of Devilry.

Bocas of the Genealogy of the Gods.

Chronicle of the Kings and Emperors of Austria.

Discours of the Miseries of the Time Present.

The Garden of Pleasance.

Esaias, in Hebrew and Greek, by Minstal.

Genealogy of the Kings of France.

Columell of Histories.

Protocol of the Chancellerie of France.

The Regret of the Duke of Guise dead.

Supplement of Devotion.

Acts of Parliament of King James the Fifth.

History of the Time Present, by S. Fontane.

The Offices of Cicero.

The Triumph of Faith.

Digitized by Google

The Triumph of Pallas.

The Oration in Praise of the old Cardinal of Lorrain.

The Epistles of Ovid, in French metre.

The first book of the Novaltis of Ronsard.

Daines Ugieri, in Italian.

The King of France's Majority.

The ninth book of Amadis de Gaul.

Of Penitence.

An Answer to the Objection of the Protestants, by Regier Brontainis.

The Acts of Parliament of Queen Mary of England.

The moral Triumphs of Petrarch, in Italian.

Christian Institution in France.

A Bishop's Epistle to the Ministers.

French Sonets, in MS.

Letters of divers Noblemen, in Italian.

Sallust, in Italian.

The Manual of the Ingrate Man.

Errores Amoreuses.

Elegia de Morte de Joachin du Bellas.

The Armes du Marquis d'Elbourg.

Dictionaire, in French and Latin.

Another Dictionary, in French and Latin.

A Turk Book of Waintrie.

The Siege of Troy, in Italian rhyme.

Vigetius de Re Militari.

The Beginning of the Scotish Chronicles, in French, by Dienye Savage.

The eleventh book of the Amadis de Gaul.

The Institutions of Astronomy.

The first book of Enguerraut.

Digitized by Google

Three books of music.

The Magrait of the Queen of Navarre.

An Epistle to the Queen, written in French, by Diodet.

Lives of certain of the Illustrious, by Emilius Probus.

Metamorphoses of Ovid, in Italian.

The Institution of Lentriss.

The Olive Augmented.

Marcus Aurelius, in Italian.

The Complaint of the University of Paris contrâ the Jesuits.

Orlando Furioso.

Of the Beginning and Progress of the Realm of France.

Harangue of the French People against Rebellion.

The Exposition of the Epistles of Augustin.

Supplement of Devotion.

The Cardinal of Lorrain's Oration at the Assembly at Poissy.

Portius of Rome.

Answer to Ronsard.

The Miseries of the Time Present, by Ronsard.

Recueil de Poesie.

The Sphere of the World.

Singular Combat of David and Elias.

A Treatise of the Premuice of the Pope.

The History of Jason.

Pentagruel, in French.

Cantwero de Romanses.

The Sacrifice Evangelick.

Resolution of certain Christian Points.

Digitized by Google

The Suthings of Oliver Magnus.
The History of the Bible in Plates.
The King of France's Declaration upon Danville's Edicts.
The first Book of Claude Butel, in French.
The Sects of Heresy in this time.
Clement Marot.
The Treatise of Stanislous, Bishop of Worms.
The Manual of Moral Virtues.
A Gathering of Sindre Histories, in French.
The Book of Human Policy.
The Consolations of Bembo.
Abridgement of the Ars Poetica, in French.
The Defence and Illustration of the French Language.
Of Gathering of Sympathies.
The Epistles of Ignatius.
The Principles of Astronomy.
The Remonstrance of the Emperor Frederic to the Pope.
The Ordinare of the Money in France.
The Praise of Folly, in French.
Four Homilies against the Images in France.
The Entertainment of Health.
The Treaty of the Sacrament, by Peter Martyr.
The Answer to John Calvin's Epistles.
Of the False Prophets.
Hippocrates, in French.
A little Book of the Chas.
Gatherings of Rhymes and Pieces.
The King of France's Declaration upon Danville's Edicts.
Remonstrance by the Estates in Burgundy.

Digitized by Google

Songs of the Bible, in French, by Lancelot de Coste.

An Exhortation to the King's Counsel against the Troubles.

An Oration-Book in writing.

The Manner to take away the Controversy in Religion, by Renatus Benedick.

Remonstrance of the Catholic Nobility of the King.

The King's Apology against the States of Burgundy.

The Writ of Nicholas Clamangis.

Epithalamium Regis et Reginæ.

A Great Book of the Duke.

Certain Paquets of French Letters and Accounts.

A Canvas Book, with Parchment Evidence concerning the old Earl of Murray, Earl of Crawford, and others.

The Lives of the Popes.

Twenty-five Counties and Quaternis of the Queen and Queen Regent.

PAGE 66. CHAP. 2.

The following stanzas, extracted from a poem presented to Mary, in 1562, afford a sample of the didactic style in which she was addressed, even by the bards of Scotland: —

ANE NEW ZEIR GIFT,

TO THE QUENE MARY,

quhen scho come first hame, 1562.

Welcum, illustrat ladye, and oure Quene;
Welcum oure lyone, with pe Floure-de-lyce:

Digitized by Google

Welcum oure thrissil, wt pe Lorane grene;
Welcum oure rubent roiss vpoun pe ryce;
Welcum oure jem and joyfull genetryce;
Welcum oure beill of Albion to beir;
Welcum our pleasand Princès, maist of pryce;
God gif pé grace aganis pis guid new-zeir.

This guid new zeir, we hoip, wt grace of God,
Salbe of peax, trāquillitie, and rest;
This zeir sall rycht and ressone rewle pe rod,
Quhilk sa lang seasoun has bene soir supprest;
This zeir, ferme fayt sall frelie be confest,
And all erronius questionis put areir,
To laboure pat pis lyfe amang ws lest;
God gif pé grace aganis pis guid new-zeir.

Heirfore address thé dewlie to decoir,
And rewle thy regne wt hie magnificence;
Begin at God to gar sett furth his gloir,
And of his gospell gett experiēce;
Caus his trew kirk be had in reuerēce;
So sall thy name and fame spred far and neir:
Now, this thy dett to do wt diligence,
God gif pé grace aganis pis guid new-zeir.

Found on pe first four vertewus cardinall,
On wisdome, iustice, force, and temperās;
Applaud to prudent men, and principall
Of vertewus lyfe, thy wirschep till avance;
Waye iustice, equalr wtout discrepance;
Strenth thy estait with steidfastnes to steir;
To temper tyme wt trew continuance,
God gife pé grace aganis pis guid new-zeir.

Digitized by Google

Cast thy consate, be counsald of pe sage,
And cleif to Christ, hes kepit pè in cure,
Attingent now to twentye zeir of aige,
Preservand pé fra all misaventure.
Wald thow be servit, and thy cuntré sure,
Still on pe commoun-weill haif é and eir;
Preiss ay to be protectrix of pe pure;
So God sall gyde thy Grace this gude new-zeir.

Gar stanch all stryiff, and stabill thy estaitis
In constance, concord, cherité, and lufe;
Be bissie now to banisch all debatis,
Betuix kirk-men and temporall men dois muse:
The pulling doun of policie reprufe,
And lat perversit prelettis leif perqueir;
To do the best, besekand God above,
To gif thé grace aganis pis guid new-zeir.

At croce gar cry be oppin proclamatioun,
Vndir grit panis, pat nothir he nor scho,
Off hayle writ, haif ony disputatioun,
Bot letterit men, or lernit clerkis prto;
For lymmer lawdis, and litle lassis lo,
Will argun bay^{t} w^{t} bischop, priest, and freir:
To dantoun pis, thow hes eneuch to do,
God gif pé grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

After having expatiated on the profligacy of Popish priests, the author adopts a more liberal tone than was often found in the Reformers.

With mess nor matynes nowayis will I mell,
To iuge pame iustlie passis my ingyne;
Thaj gyde nocht ill that governis weill pame sell,
And lelalie on lawtie layis pair lyne:

Digitized by Google

Dowtis to discus, for doctouris ar devyne,
Cunnyng in clergie to declair pame cleir:
To ordo this, the office now is thyne,
God gif pé grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

As bèis takkis walx and honye of the floure,
So dois pe faythfull of Goddis word take frute;
As waspis ressauis of pe same bot soure.
So reprobatis Christis buke dois rebute:
Wordis, wtout werkis, availzeis not a cute:
To seiss thy subiectis in luf and feir,
That rycht and reasoun in thy realme may rute,
God gife pe grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

The epistollis and evangelis now ar prechit,
But sophistrie or ceremoneis vaine;
Thy pepill, maist pairt, trewlie now ar techit,
To put away idolatrie prophaine;
Bot in sum hartis is gravit new agane,
Ane image, callit cutvatyce of geir;
Now, to expell pat idoll standis vp plane,
God gif pé grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

For sum 'quhen' sene at sermonis seme sa hayle,
Singand Sanc *Dauidis* psalter on pair bukis,
And ar bot biblistis fairsing full pair bellie,
Bakbytand ny*bouris noyand pame in nwikis,
Ruging and raisand vp kirk-rentis lyke ruikis;
As werrie waspis aganis Goddis word makis weir:
Sic Christianis to kiss wt chanteris kuikis,
God gif pé grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

Digitized by Google

Dewtie and dettis ar drevin by dowbilnes,
Auld folkis ar flemit fra zung fayth professouris,
The grittist ay, the greddiar I gess.
To plant quhair preistis and personis wer posses-
souris;
Teindis ar vptane be testament transgressouris;
Credence is past, off promeiss thoᵗ thaj sweir:
To punisch Papistis and reproche oppressouris,
God gif pé grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

Pure folk ar famist wᵗ pir fassionis new,
Thaj faill for falt pat had befoir at fouth;
Leill labouraris lamentis, and tennentis trew,
That paj ar hurt and hareit north and south:
The heidismen hes *cor mundum* in pair mouth,
Bot nevir wᵗ mynd to gif pe man his meir:
To quenche thir quent calamiteis so cowth,
God gif pé grace aganis pis gude new-zeir.

Protestandis takis pe freiris auld antetewme,
Reddie ressauaris bot to rander nocht;
So lairdis vpliftis mennis leifing ouir thy rewme,
And ar rycht crabit quhen thaj crave pame ocht;
Be thaj vnpayit, thy pursevandis ar socht,
To pund pure communis corne and cattell keir:
To wisy all pir wrangus workis ar wrocht,
God gif pé grace againis pis gude new-zeir.

Haull biddis nocht deill wᵗ thingis idolatheit,
Nor quhair hypocrasie hes bene committit;
Bot kirk-mennis cursit substance semis sweit
Till land-men, wᵗ pat leud burd-lyme are kyttit;

Digitized by Google

Giff thow persave sum senzeour it hes smittit,
Solist pame softlie nocht to perseveir:
Hurt no^{t} pair hono^{r}, tho^{t} thy heines wittit
Bot graciouslie forgife pame pis gude zeir.

Foirgifanis grant with glaidnes and gude will,
Gratis till all into zo^{r} parliament;
Syne stabill statutis, steidfast to stand still,
That barrone, clerk, and burges be content:
Thy nobillis, erlis, and lordis consequent,
Treit tendir, to obtene pair hartis inteir;
That paj may serve and be obedient,
Vnto thy Grace, aganis pis gude new-zeir.

Sen tho thow sittis in saitt superlatywe,
Caus everye stait to pair vocatioun go,
Scholastik men pe scriptouris to descrywe,
And maiestratis to vse pe swerd also,
Merchandis to trafique and travell to and fro,
Mechanikis wirk, husbandis to saw and scheir;
So salbe welth and weilfaire w^{t}out wo,
Be grace of God aganis pis guid new-zeir.

Latt all thy realme be now in reddines,
With coistlie clething to decoir thy corss;
Zung gentilmen for dansing pame address,
With courtlie ladyes culpit in consors:
Fark ferce gallandis for feild gēmis enforss;
Enarmit knychtis at listis w^{t} scheild and speir,
To fecht in barrowis bay^{t} on fute and horss,
Agane py grace gett ane guid-man pis zeir.

Digitized by Google

This zeir salbe imbassatis heir belyffe,
For mariage, frome princes, dukis, and kingis;
This zeir, wtin thy regioun, sall aryfe,
Rowtis of the rankest pat in Eurup ringis;
This zeir bayt blythnes and abundance bringis,
Naveis of schippis outthro the sea to sneir,
With riches, raymentis, and all royall thingis,
Agane py Grace get ane gude-man pis zeir.

The poem concludes with the following quaintness: —

L'ENVOY.

Prudent, maist gent, tak tent, and prent pe wordis
Intill this bill, with will thame still to face,
Quhilkis ar not skar, to bar on far fra bawrdis,
Rot leale, bot feale, may haell, avaell thy Grace;
Sen lo, thow schow pis to, now do hes place,
Receive, [and] swaif, and haif, ingraif it heir:
This now, for prow, pat pow, sweit dow, may brace,
Lang space, with grace, solace, and peace, pis zeir.

LECTORI.

Fresch, fulgent, flurist, fragrant flower, formois,
Lantern to lufe, of ladeis lamp and lot.
Cherie maist chaist, cheif charbucle and chois;
Smaill sweit smaragde, smelling but smit of smot;
Noblest nator, nurice to nurtour not,
This dull indyte, dulce, dowble, dasy deir,
Send be thy sempill servand SANDERIS SCOTT,
Greting grit God to grant thy Grace gude zeir.

MS. fol. 90. [ALEXR. SCOTT.]

Digitized by Google

PAGE 132. CHAP. IV.

The following letter, written by Mary within three months after Rizio's assassination, demonstrates that the Queen believed her dignity to be involved in resisting applications for the pardon of those who had been engaged in the late treason against her.

To oure traist Cousing the Erll of Ergile, &c.

" Traist Cousing, we greit zou well. We ressauit " zour lettre quhilk we have considerit, towart the " Lord Boydis pardoun. The stay of the expeditioun " of it procedit onlie becaus the participatioun of the " lait conspiracy and attemptat done in our presens, " was not thairin specialie exceptit, quhilk ze knaw " we alwayes myndit to except in geving of our re- " missionis. And sa wes the effect of the commonyng " had with zou at our commandiment, quhilk we in- " tend, God willing, sinceirlie to keep without ony " alteratioun, quhairof ze sall certanlie persuade zour " selfe. And thairfoir for zour cause and for the gude " opinioun we haue of zour faithfull part towart ws, " (quhairin we will not doubt), the said Lord Boydis " remissioun sal haue passaige, and be na further " stayit, the participatioun of the laitt attemptat (as " we haue said) exceptit. And likewise as for the " Lord of Gormok, he salbe sett at libertie under " souirtie for his gude reull & reentre, as the forme is. " Bot the souirteis ze knaw mon be Lawland men, " and not of the gretast of oure nobilite, quhilkis ar " not commonlie takin souirteis in sic caissis, quhilk " ordour, for diuerse considerationis, presently we haue " observit. And doubtis not bot ze sall wele allow the

Digitized by Google

" same at our meting, quhilk we ernestlie wyshe mycht
" be schortlie. And howsone the occasioun will offer
" the self we will not omit to haist the same. Quhen
" Gormok is relevit lat him cum to Ergile, & abyde
" with zow in zour cumpany quhill we be further
" avisit, for ressonable caussis as ze will likeuise
" knaw. In this meyntyme, we pray zou interteny
" familiaritie with Oneill in the best manner ze can*,
" quhairof we thocht mete presently thus far to ad-
" uertise zou. And heireftir ze will mair largelie
" wnderstand our mynd in that & all uther behalffis.
" We neid presentlie to wrait at na gretar lenth, sen
" heirby we doubt not ze will persave our meanyns,
" quhilk is and sall continew alwayes towartis zow
" sincere loving & upricht, as the yssue of our pro-
" ceedingis sall declair, God willing, to whose pro-
" tectioun we commit zou. At Edinburg, the last
" day of Merche, 1566."

PAGE 165. CHAP. V.

The lands of Alloa formerly belonged to a family of the name of Baillie, by whom they were forfeited. The King, about 1815, exchanged these lands with Lord Erskine, for the forest of Glenartney and lands adjoining, now Loch Katherine. Alloa remained in the Erskine family until 1715, when it was forfeited, with all the other possessions of the Earl of Mar. But the estate of Alloa was bought back by the friends of

* It will be recollected, that O'Neil was at this time creating much disturbance to the government of Elizabeth. Mary considered this as a fair reprisal for the interference of the Queen of England with her subjects.

Digitized by Google

the family in 1722. There is still in the tower of Alloa a cradle and child's high-chair, both of oak, and carved, which were King James the Sixth's. Annabel Murray, (of the Athol family,) then Countess of Mar, was in immediate attendance on him when a child, and there is her low nursing-chair, of oak, with the initials of her name carved on it.

PAGE 179. CHAP. V.

Mr. Chalmers demonstrates the falsehood of Buchanan's Journal, referred to by Cecil in his argument against the Queen of Scots, by the following extract from the Privy Seal Register:—

"Aug. 2d. 1566.—At Alloa, the King and Queen "in Council, declared their purpose to hold a Justice "Ayre, at Jedburgh: but this declared intention was "prevented, till the beginning of October.

"Oct. 7th.—Bothwell, who was the Queen's lieu-"tenant on the borders, went from Edinburgh to "Liddisdale.

"8th.—Was wounded by John Elliot, of the Park; "also Birrel's diary.

"8th.—The Queen and Murray, and all her court, "went from Edinburgh, to hold a Justice Ayre at "Jedburgh.

"10th.—She held a privy council at Jedburgh. "(Privy Council Register.)

"11th.—She held another council at Jedburgh.

"15th.—She was still at Jedburgh.

"16th.—The Queen, accompanied by several offi-"cers, went to visit her lieutenant at Hermitage. "(Privy Seal Register.)"—Vol. I. page 109. Quarto edition.

Digitized by Google

Buchanan's Journal compared with the Records.

Journal.	*Records.*
Nov. 5th, 1566. — The Queen and Bothwell came to Kelso, and there abode two nights.	Nov. 5th, 1566.— At Jedburgh, there were present in the Privy Council, the Earls of Murray, Bothwell, Atholl, Rothes, and Orkney, with the officers of state; and several private causes were decided there, in which the Warden of the Marches, Sir Walter Ker, was Plaintiff.— Privy Council Register of that date.
Nov. 7th. — They came to Longton.	
Nov. 9th. — They came to Wedderburn.	
Nov. 10th. — They came to Coldingham, where the Lady Reres and her company were taken by the watch.	Nov. 10th. — The Privy Council sat at Kelso, and decided a private complaint.
Nov. 12th. — They came to Dunbar, where they staid two nights.	

For the sequel of this curious document, the reader is referred to Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. ii. page 110. 4to. edit.

Digitized by Google

PAGE 195. CHAP. V.

That Darnley's malady was the small-pox, is demonstrated by Mr. Chalmers, from several documents still extant in the paper-office; among others, a dispatch from the Earl of Bedford; another from Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick; even the puritan Birrel, in his Diary, simply states the fact, that the King had the small-pox. Several contemporary historians attest the truth. And Laboureur, who derived his information from the veracious Castelnau, makes the same statement.

PAGE 216. CHAP. VI.

The Lady Bothwell appears not to have been ever much attached to her first husband. (See Throckmorton's letter in Keith, in which she is said to have declared she would never live with him again. According to Gordon, of Gordons-town, she did not marry the Earl of Sutherland till 1573; after whose death, she espoused Alexander Ogilvie, Lord Boyne; she was, says Gordon, a comely lady, judicious, of excellent memory, with an understanding above her sex; she superintended the improvements of her estate; built houses; patronised industry; and apparently was much fitter for government than Queen Mary. See Gordon's *History of the House of Gordon*.

PAGE 265. CHAP. VI.

The true reasons for Mary's detention appear to be unfolded in the following notes written in Cecil's hand, in which, after having premised that it was "useful

Digitized by Google

" and honorable for the Queen's Majesty to inter-
" meddle in the affairs of Scotland, more especially
" since the Queen of Scots had made pretensions to
" her crown of England," he enumerates the dangers to be apprehended, if she should pass into France.

" If France possess hir, she shall also serve them to
" revive the old league betwixt France and the crowne
" of Scotland, to the sworne malice of England,
" and at this tyme that shall be more perrillooss then
" heretofor, when the crown of England and Bur-
" gundy wer knitt and confederat together agaynst
" France and Scotland: wher now England hath no
" leage of good frendship with any prince or contrie,
" but standeth alone, saving for the present, the ac-
" cord betwixt England and Scotland bredeth such
" profit to England, as no other amity can, in re-
" spect of ther conjunction by dry Marcheis, which
" cannot continue longe after the Scottish Quene shall
" be at the devotion of France.

" If France shall revive her league with Scotland,
" and England have no other amity than it hath,
" England shall be more subject to danger than ever
" it was thesse three hundred yeares, for these
" causes.

" First. — Heretofore England had Calliss and the
" Merches thereof, by which it was owner of the
" narrow seas, and had opportunitie to invade France
" by land. The contrary whereof is now for France,
" for they have the commoditie by Calliss, keping
" a few gallise ther, to impeach our possession of the
" narrow seas, and thereby to interrupt our trade of
" merchandise, without which the crowne of England

Digitized by Google

" cannot well stand, as the charges of government is " now increased.

" Daungers, if the Scottish Quene do remain in " England.

" If she remayne with liberty to practise with whom " she will, she shall employ hirself to increase hir " part, for hir intention to have the crown of Eng- " land without expectation to succede, whansoever " she shall fynd hir opportunity to sease it, and to lay " hand on it, and for such an enterprise, she shall in " tyme, recover all hir subjects in Scotland to be of " hir part; for no man can thynk but such a swete " bayte would make concord betwixt them all.

" Daungers, if she shuld return into Scotland, to " rule as she did.

" The frends of England shall all be in tyme " abassed. The French faction shall increase. The " young prince shall have but a short tyme: and the " Hamiltons being swore confederates of France, shall " be exalted; and most likely, the Quene herself " shall not have long contynuance.

" England shall have contynuall jarryng uppon the " frontiers, and if any French garrison shall be in " Scotland, the crown of England must increase ther " charge at Barwyck, and upon all the frontyers.

" Beside this, Ireland shall be molested with the " Scotts more than it hath bene.

" Lastly.—The state of religion shall be changed " in Scotland, which will fede no small trooble in " England, being at this present not clere of inward " swellyngs.

Digitized by Google

" If the Q. shall be retorned into Scotland, these " provisions must be made.

" That all subjects of Scotland answerable for the " murder, be fyrst duly punished.

" That a sufficient devorce be made betwixt the " Quene and the Erle Bothwell.

" That she depend not upon France. That hir " marriage may be at the Quene's disposition.

" That no French garrison come into Scotland.

" That the peace of Leith be ratified by the Queen " and the Parliament of Scotland.

" That the Erle Murray have the principal charge " in Scotland." — *Anderson's Collections*, vol. iv.

PAGE 269. CHAP. VII.

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of the richest peers in the kingdom, and possessed magnificent mansions, at Sheffield, Wingfield, Tutbury, and Chatsworth. By his first wife, Lady Gertrude Manners, he had several children, some of whom had cause to lament his second union with the Lady St. Loe, who had thrice before entered the marriage state, and who stipulated, before she became the Earl's wife, that his son Gilbert should marry her eldest daughter, by Sir William Cavendish, and his eldest daughter espouse that young lady's brother. These preliminaries being adjusted, the nuptials of the Earl and Lady St. Loe were solemnized with suitable magnificence; whilst Gilbert and the young Cavendish were sent for education to the Continent. The wife

Digitized by Google

of the former inherited her mother's spirit, and in time estranged her husband from his father's affections. The Lady Shrewsbury herself could not exist without political intrigue; she alternately flattered and calumniated Mary, and often duped Elizabeth. In 1574, she incurred her displeasure, by making a match between her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish and Charles Stuart, the youngest son of Lady Lennox; but she appears to have soon regained the favor of her sovereign, who did not, however, protect her from the humiliation she deservedly incurred, by her malignant aspersions of Mary Stuart. And in 1584 we find, both from Strype (*Annals*, 3d vol. page 232,) and from the Correspondence of Castelnau, that the Countess and her two sons attested before a magistrate the falsehood of those calumnious reports which, through their influence, had been widely circulated. Mary complained loudly of the injury, to the courts of France and England; and in one of her letters to Castelnau, she designates a gentleman named Topcliffe, as the original author of the calumny; adding, that formerly, when they were on good terms, both Lady Shrewsbury and herself had laughed at the absurdity. This remark agrees with a passage in Lady Shrewsbury's letter to the Earl, (in Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 167.) in which she playfully desires him to commend her to his charge and *love*.*

* A copious and interesting account of the Talbots may be found in Hunter's "History of Hallamshire."

Digitized by Google

" I have sente you letyss, for that you love them;
" and ever seconde day some is sente to your charge
" and you; I have nothynge else to sende. Lette me
" here how you, your charge and *love*, dothe, and
" commend me, I pray you. Yt were well you cente
" fore or fyve peces of the great hangengs, that they
" myght be put oup; and some carpetes. I wyshe
" you wollde have thynges yn that redynes that you
" might come within three or foure dayes after you
" here from courte. Wryte to Balwene to calle on
" my Lord Tresorare for ansere of your letters.

" To my Lorde my husbande,
" the Erle of Shrewsbury."

" Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*," vol. ii.

PAGE 272. CHAP. VII.

The following extract has been taken from the mandate transmitted by Mary to the States of Scotland, in 1569, demanding a divorce from Bothwell. The original, which had been preserved among the Kilmarnock archives, is now deposited in the Advocate's library, at Edinburgh.—

" Marie by the grace of God, Quene of Scottis
" and Dowarier of France, to all and sendrie
" quhais knowledge this present letteris sal cum,
" greting in God everlasting. Forsameikle as we are
" crediblie informed be sendrie and divers noblemen
" of our realme, that the pretended marriage, some-
" time contractit and in a manner solemnizat, be-
" tweene us and James Erle Bothwell, was for divers

Digitized by Google

" respectes unlawful, and may not of good con-
" science nor law stand betwixt us, (albeit it seemed
" otherwise to us and our counsall at that time;)
" considering, therefore, with ourselves, and thinking
" that the same does touch us, so hiechlie in honor
" and conscience, that it dailie and hourlie troubles
" and vexes our sprite quaiht through, we are moved
" to seke remedy. For this cause we have askit
" counsel of the gretest clerks, best learned, and ex-
" pert doctors in divine and humane laws, as we
" could have in divers contries, be whom we are
" assuredlie informed and certainlie persuaded that
" the said pretendit marriage is a no ways lawful, nor
" can in any way be the causes prementioned as
" good. Not onlie because that he was before con-
" tractit to ane other wife, and he not lawfullie di-
" vorcit from hir; but also (althocht we were in-
" formed ther was no impediment,) yet ther were
" divers gret impediments of affinitie and uther ways
" standing betwixt us; quilhkis git they had been
" known to us, would have made let and impediment
" to our - and now being revealed to us sufficient to
" make us clearly understood, we may be seperat fra
" him be the lawis; for of our mind and will to
" ord to all thingis quilk is baith good and ho-
" norabil for conscience, relief of our trouble afflicted
" sprite B, als also for the declaration of our ain
" honor, and contentation of our estatis ane gude
" subjects of our realme; we, of our ain motive, free
" will and mind, have made, constitute, nominate,
" &c. &c. &c."

Digitized by Google

PAGE 286. CHAP. VII.

In 1581 the Bishop of Ross published, under the name of Morgan Phillips, several pamphlets in vindication of the Queen of Scots, his defence of Queen Mary's honor, and of her title to the crown of England, in which he admitted he had chiefly borrowed the arguments from two eminent English lawyers. The Bishop was ever active and zealous in Mary's cause, and it was by his agency that the marriage was proposed between her and Norfolk. When the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland took arms, it was expected the Duke of Norfolk would by force rescue the Scottish Queen. Mary herself thought so; and she is said to have expressed disappointment, not unmixed with disgust, at his lukewarmness.

After his departure from England, the Bishop remained faithful to his unfortunate mistress, by whose recommendation he was patronized by the Pope and the King of France, yet died in a state of honorable indigence. In Lesley's spirited defence of Queen Mary's honor, may be detected the original of all the arguments since adduced to prove, that the letters to Bothwell are fabricated.

" She denieth them, and we denie them to. " There is neither subscription of the writer, nor " superscription unto whom they were directed: they " are neither sealed nor signed; there appeareth nei- " ther date wherein they were dated, neither day nor " month. There is no mention made of the bearer,

Digitized by Google

" who is, as it may be supposed, for any name he bear-
" eth, the man in the moone. He was never yet
" known nor heard of, that did either receive or
" deliver them. For as for him that ye surmise
" was the bearer of them, and whome you have
" executed of late for the said murther, he, at the
" time of his said execution, tooke it upon his death,
" as he should answere before God, that he never
" carried any such letters, nor that the Queene was
" participant nor of counsayle in the cause. Think
" ye that wise and expert men are ignorant, how
" perilous and dangerous a matter it is, to fasten
" any good proufe upon illation of letters, and how
" easy it is to some men, to imitate and counter-
" feit any character? The which a knight, lately
" deceased in England, could so lively and sub-
" tilely doe, that he who wrote most crabbedly and
" unleageably, could hardely discerne his owne
" hande writing from the knight's counterfeiting
" hande.

" But who conferred these letters, I pray you,
" with your Queene's owne hande-writing? Dare
" you to warrant them in this so perilous and weighty
" a cause, to have bene so exquisitely and so exactly
" vewed and conferred with all suche dewe circum-
" stances as the civil law doth require, were it but a
" civil or a money matter?

" You wil, peradventure, answere, that there was
" dew collation by you made. O perfect and worthy col-
" lation! O meete and apt men for suche a purpose!

" As though it is not notoriously known through-
" out the worlde, that ye are her most mortal ene-

Digitized by Google

" mies, as though these counterfeit letters were not " the underpropped postes and upholders of your " whole treachery and usurped kingdome; as " though that many in Scotlande could not expresse " and resemble, and counterfeit in their writings, the " Queene's very character: and as though there were " not among your selves some singular artificer in this " handy-craft, and that hath sent letters also in her " very name, as wel into Englande, as to other " places by-sides, without either her commaunde- " ment, or knowledge. How can I chose then, but " say, that this deede is your shamefull handy-craft, " and not her hande-writing? Yea surely, al this " is your owne fained forging, and most vile counter- " feiting.

" For either you must bring forth good and appa- " rent witnesses, to proove it her hande, or some " suche as were privie to the meaning of the sayd " letters; which ye neither yet have done, nor are " likely ever to doo. Or ye must graunte, that you " were privie to them yourselves with the Queene, " or at least with the said Earle, whom ye surmise " to have received these letters, or that al this is by " you maliciously driven and concluded." — *Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honor*, vol. i. *of Anderson's Collections.*

PAGE 346. CHAP. VII.

On the 1st of August, 1567, the body of Mary was interred with royal pomp, in the cathedral of Peterborough. The Countess of Bedford, as the representative of Elizabeth, headed the procession,

Digitized by Google

followed by the greater part of the English nobility.*

The funeral sermon was preached by the Bishop of Lincoln; and preceded by a prayer, in which he called on his hearers to give thanks for the *happy* dissolution of Mary, Queen of Scotland, "of whose "*life* or *death*," he added, "I have not much to say, "because I knew not the one, neither was present at "the other." At the conclusion of his discourse, the English mourners proceeded to the vault, with the Scottish attendants, who, being Catholics, had absented themselves during the service; at the door of the choir stood the Scottish women, who saluted the English ladies as they passed. After the sacred ceremony, the company repaired to the palace, where a splendid repast was provided by the Bishop of Peterborough. Innumerable were the spectators of the solemnity; not even the nuptials of Mary with Francis excited more attention than did those mournful obsequies.†

* Martyre de la Royne d'Ecosse. — Mort de la Reyne d'Ecosse, in Jebb. — See also a copious account in vol. i. of the Archæologia.

† In the church of Antwerp is a monument to the memory of Mary, erected by Elizabeth Earl and Barbara Mowbray, who had both attended on her in England. Near the monument was placed a portrait of the Queen, taken in France after the death of Francis the Second, and which appears extremely beautiful.—*Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii. page 1042.

Digitized by Google

PAGE 323. CHAP. VII.

That James, King of Scotland, felt little solicitude to preserve the existence of that mother whom he had been taught to consider his rival, sufficiently appears from the correspondence of Courcelles, the French envoy at the court of Scotland.

PAGE 323. CHAP. VII.

The following extracts, from the correspondence of Courcelles, have been copied from the royal library at Paris, (No. 9513, Demesmes Collection, "Lettres originales d'Etat," Tom. III. fol. 397.)

" Le Sr. de Courcelles mande au Sr. d'Esneval, " par sa lettre du dernier jour de décembre dernier, " 1586, qu'il s'est faict une assemblée des Estats en " Escosse, tenue en la ville d'Edimbourg, en laquelle " plusieurs seigneurs Escossois persuadant le Roy " d'Escosse, leur soverain, de subvenir a la Royne, " sa mere, et la secourir en sa nécessité, comme il " doibt, luy ont proposé de faire la guerre à la Royne " d'Angleterre, plustost que de souffrir qu'elle fust " exécutée, ou qui lui fust faict aulcun tort.

" Mais, que le Roy d'Escosse n'a voullu entendre " à cet advis, ayant bien mal respondu à l'expecta- " tion qu'on avoit de luy, que, sur l'envoy qu'il " avoit faict de MM. Gray, et Mellevin, en Angle- " terre, et sur ceste assemblée, principallement, il " prendroit quelque bonne résolution pour le bien " et la conservation d'icelle Dame Royne, sa mere; " sur quoy, il a dict, au contraire, au Conte Bo- " douel (*Bothwell*), et au Chevalier Séton, ' qu'il ne " se déclareroit jamais ouvertement contre la Royne

Digitized by Google

" d'Angleterre, et les Estatz de son pais; advenant,
" mesmes, la mort de sa mere, sinon, en cas qu'on le
" voullust frustrer de son tiltre à la succession d'An-
" gleterre.'

" Qu'il est aussy conseillé, de ne poursuivre trop,
" que sa mere sort d'où elle est; et dict là dessus,
" ledict Courcelles, qu'il est aysé à veoir, qu'iceluy
" Roy d'Escosse veult seulement régner; et ne fault
" espérer de luy beaucoup de bons offices vers la
" Royne, sa mere, en enstant dissuadé et empesché
" par plusieurs mauvaises personnes, qui sont près
" de luy, et qui le conseillent très mal.

" Qu'il vouldroit bien, que la Royne, sa mere,
" fust perpétuellement reserrée en une chambre, et
" y eust près d'elle des personnes à sa devotion, qui
" l'empeschassent d'avoir aulcunes intelligences et
" pratiques, en quelque part que ce soit; à laquelle
" condition (si la Royne d'Angleterre veult estendre
" dre), c'est le poinct où le Sr. de Courcelles pence
" que l'on pourra tumber, et de la soubzmettre
" aux loix et coustumes d'Angleterre, pour y estre
" jugée, suivant icelles, en cas qu'elle contrevint à
" ses promesses, non comme Royne, mais comme
" simple subject et vassal de lad. Royne d'Angle-
" terre; si tant est que lad. Royne, sa mere, le veille
" ainsy accorder; ce qu'elle ne fera pas, ains, qu'elle
" se résouldra plustost de subir toutte aultre ex-
" trémité.

" Que led. Sr. Roy d'Escosse a, pour ce regard,
" beaucoup diminué de sa réputation envers ses sub-
" jects, et jusqu'à là mesme, que, quand il sort de
" son pallays, beaulcoup de peuple murmure et crie

Digitized by Google

" tout hault, sur le peu de conte qu'il faict de sa
" mere; ne doubtant, néantmoings, led. Courcelles,
" qu'il n'aye bonne volonté; mais, qu'il est tellement
" possédé des mauvais ministres, qui sont près de luy,
" qu'il ne peult user de son bon naturel.

" Qu'il soustenoit, dernierement, en disnant, une
" opinion, que luy-mesmes proposa, en discourant,
" qui est: ' Que le sang de parentage, ou d'affinité,
" ne nous oblige tant, que l'amitié que nous avons
" envers ceux qui ne sont de nostre sangs:' à quoy,
" personne ne luy respondit aulcune chose; mais,
" peu de gens en firent bonne interprétation.

" Que le Milord Claude (*Hamilton*) se trouva à
" lad. assemblée, et qu'iceluy Courcelles, l'estant
" allé visiter après pour tousjours le retenir et con-
" tinuer en sa volonté qu'il a au service de S. M.,
" luy promist bien, estre très humble serviteur
" d'icelle; et dist, qu'il estoit assez remarqué par
" delà, pour luy estre affectionné; mais, que, sur ce
" propos, le Prieur de Plescardine donna ce traict:
" Que, il y en auroit, à la vérité, beaucoup par delà,
" qui desireroient le party de Sad. Majesté, s'ilz
" voyoyent estre favorisez de suport et moyens,
" comme la Royne d'Angleterre faict les siens par delà.

" Adjouste led. Courcelles, que le Conte de Gra-
" fort, et le Mr. de Glame, se sont trouvez à lad.
" assemblée, touts deux bien accompagnez, à raison
" de la querelle qu'ilz ont ensemble; mais, que, de
" crainte qu'ilz ne se rencontrassent par les rues, et
" qu'il ne fallust venir aux mains, l'un gardoit son
" logis, ung jour, par le commandement du Roy,

Digitized by Google

" pendant que l'aultre se pourmenoit; et que l'aultre
" faisoit le semblable, par après.

" Que le Milord Hamilton ne s'y est voullu trou-
" ver, combien que le Roy l'eust mandé, ayant bien
" recongneu, que c'estoit à la suscitation des bonnes
" gens qui craygnent qu'il n'introduise près du Roy
" le Conte d'Haran, qu'aulcuns estiment; que, s'il y
" fust allé, il eust peu estre en peine, par le moien des
" retournez d'Angleterre, qui le tiennent comme perdu
" pour eux, et luy font tout ce qu'ilz peuvent, à cette
" occasion: qui le peult rendre mal content à l'encontre
" d'eulx; mesmes, que le Roy, luy ayant faict don, de-
" puis peu de temps, d'un mariage, duquel il espéroit
" recépvoir quelque cinq mille puntz (*pounds*), il en a
" esté frustré par le secrétaire, et le Mr. de Glame,
" qui luy a encor retenu quelque argent à luy ordonné
" pour faire le voiage ès frontieres, desquelles il a
" esté faict Gouverneur, par la démission du Conte
" d'Angus, contrainct de le quitter, à cause que le
" Conte de Morton ne l'y voulloit souffrir.

" Que le Milord Claude pourra s'accorder avec son
" frere, en estant sur les termes. Le Conte de Hunte-
" ley ne s'est poinct trouvé à lad. assemblée, ny beaul-
" coup d'aultres avec luy, comme l'on penceoit.

" Que le Mr. Gray et Mellevin, avant leur par-
" tement pour Angleterre, tindrent plusieurs hon-
" nestes propos aud. Sr. Courcelles, l'asseurant,
" qu'ilz feroient tout ce qu'ilz pourroient pour la
" Royne d'Escosse, conjoinctement avec MM. de
" Bellievre et de Chasteauneuf, vers la Royne
" d'Angleterre."

Digitized by Google

Original Letter from "Monsieur de Courcelles," French Charge-d'affaires in Scotland, in his own hand-writing, to Henry III. King of France, his Master. King's Library, at Paris, No. 9518, Demesmes Collection, "Lettres originales d'Etat," tom. III. fol. 408.

N. B. The words which are in Italics are omitted in the margin of the official decyphered copy.

" Sire, depuis le xxx^e^. novembre dernier, que j'ay " escript à V. M. le Roy d'Escosse, vostre bon nepveu, " a eu nouvelles, que les Estatz Angleterre avoyent " conclud à la mort de la Royne d'Escosse, sa mère, " comme seul moyen et remede pour asseurer la vye " de la Royne d'Angleterre; pour laquelle desmou- " voir de ne faire passer plus oultre à l'encontre d'elle, " suivant le susd. aviz, il ce seroit, à l'instant, deli- " béré d'envoyer le Comte de Bodouel, M^e^. Gray, et " Sir Robert Mellevyn, ayant, pour leur plus libre " passaige, escript à ces ambassadeurs qui sont en " Angleterre, de demander leur passeport: ce qu'ilz " ont faict, ainsi qu'ilz luí ont mandé; mais, que, pour " quelques considérations, la Royne d'Angleterre ne " leur vouloit octroyer au Comte de Bedouel; bien " au M^e^. Gray; lequel refuz, combien que plusieurs " l'interprètent, avoir esté faict, par les menées et " artifices de Archibal Duglas, et de Gray, qui recog- " noissent led. Comte de Bodouel, homme prompt " et libre en ces parolles, et affectionné à la Royne " d'Escosse, lequel, si il descouvroit quelque chose " de l'opinion que plusieurs tiennent de leurs mau- " vais déportemens en ceste affaire, il ne seroit pour " le céler. Ledit Roy d'Escosse c'est monstré ne

Digitized by Google

" se soucyer beaucoup, pour le desir, qu'il avoyt
" d'envoyer promptement quelqun, pour empescher
" que l'on ne procédast contre la Royne, sa mere;
" et que, en tout événement, le passeport estant
" pour led. Gray, qui pourroit mener led. Mellevyn
" avec luy, qu'ilz luy sembloit suffire en lad. légation.
" Il leur auroit faict dresser leurs instructions, par
" le secrétaire Ledinton, ' fondées, premierement,
" sur plusieurs honnestes remonstrances de l'amitié,
" qui est entre lad. Royne d'Angleterre et luy, au
" préjudice de laquelle, il ce prometoit, suivant la
" douceur et clémence dont elle a accoustumé d'user,
" et qui la rend renommée par toutte la Chrestienté,
" elle ne vouldroit tâcher sa réputation, par la mort
" de la Royne, sa mere, qui luy est proche parente,
" de son mesme sang, et de mesme sexe, et laquelle
" il ne peut, avec son honneur, abandonner, ne souf-
" frir qu'elle soyt exécutée, à l'appetit de ces ennemys,
" qui la recherchent injustement; avec plusieurs
" raisons, pour luy faire entendre, que sa vye ne sera
" tant asseurée, par la mort, que par laisser vivre lad.
" Royne, sa mere, laquelle, il prie bien affectueuse-
" ment vouloir délivrer et mettre en liberté, soubz
" hostaiges, avec asseurance et conditions, desquelles
" il sera aussi respondant, qu'elle n'attemptera, ne
" innovera aulcune chose contre elle et son Estat, si
" mieulx elle n'ayme la bannir hors de son Royaulme
" et pays de son obeisance; lesquelles offres, et ou-
" vertures, il leur enjoinct de communicquer aulx
" Ambassadeurs de V. M., qui sont près lad. Royne
" d'Angleterre, et procedder en icelles, comme aussi
" en tout ce qu'ilz traicteront, conjoinctement avec

Digitized by Google

" eulx; et, en cas qu'ilz recognoissent lad. Royne, sa
" mere, estre en danger de mort, sans que lad. Royne
" d'Angleterre, et ceulx de son Conseil ce voulussent
" arrester ad ce que dessus, plustost qu'elle meure, luy
" faire ouvertures et offres, de la retenir tousjours
" prisonniere, en Angleterre, comme elle estoit aupa-
" ravant, soubz bonnes et seures gardes, ayant près
" d'elle gens, desquelz il respondra, si la Royne
" d'Angleterre luy veult accorder de luy en pourveoir,
" *et qui luy osteront toutes pareilles et semblables intelli-*
" *gences que celles qu'elle avoit cy-devant eues;* pro-
" mectant, avec lad. Royne, sa mere, qu'elle ne pra-
" tiquera riens, contre, ne à son préjudice, et de son
" Estat; et, où il seroit trouvé, qu'elle y auroit con-
" trevenu, qu'elle se soubz-mectra aux loix et cous-
" tumes d'Angleterre, pour estre jugée par les Estatz
" dud. Royaulme, non comme Royne, ou Princesse
" Souveraine, mais comme ung simple subject et
" vassal de lad. Royne d'Angleterre.' Pour auctoriser
" davantaige lesquelles instructions, combien qu'elles
" fussent signées de luy, il auroit voullu estre leues en
" l'assemblée des Estatz, qu'il auroit faict convenir en
" ceste ville Edimbroug, ces trois jours passez, où,
" après avoir demandé l'adviz d'aulcuns d'eulx sur
" icelles, les Milord Claude Hamilton, les Comtes
" d'Arrel, Bodouel, et autres Seigrs. desd. Estatz, luy
" remonstrerent: Qu'il leur sembloit n'estre mal à
" propos, d'adjouster à icelles, et aulx susd. remon-
" strances, quelque chose de la résolution qu'il pouvoit
" avoir de ce déclarer contre elle, et lui faire la guerre,
" si elle permectoit estre procédé contre la Royne, sa
" mere; ou y joindre quelques menaces, qui pour-

Digitized by Google

" roient, ainsi qu'ilz estiment, plus retenir l'insolence
" de ces ennemys, que les prieres qu'il leur en pourroit
" faire. Et, au regard du dernier article mentionné
" èsd. instructions, qu'ilz seroyent bien d'adviz, qu'il
" fût retranché en quelque chose, pour estre du tout
" contraire à l'honneur et dignité du Roy, ne telle que
" porte sa mere, *qu'ilz n'estiment vouloir jamais ac-*
" *corder, et ce résoudre plustost à toute extrémité, que*
" *de consentir.* Il leur dict, ' Que le temps n'estoit, à
" ceste heure, propre, et que ces affaires ne luy per-
" metoit de user de menaces vers la Royne d'Angle-
" terre, qu'il recognoissoist, pour aujourd'huy, Prin-
" cesse très puissante; et, au regard du dernier article,
" il falloit qu'il demeurast, comme moien, par lequel
" la vie de la Royne, sa mere, pouvoit estre sauvée.'
" Sur quoy, le Milord Heriz le pria de ne trouver
" mauvais, si il luy disoit, que du commencement,
" l'on c'est monstré trop tardif en la deffense de la
" Royne, sa mere, qui a esté occasion qu'on a entre-
" prins sy avant à l'encontre d'elle: il luy dict, en
" colere, ' Qu'encores qu'il ne fût tenu de randre
" conte de ces actions à *ces* subjectz, *néantmoins, il*
" *vouloit bien que ung chacun cogneust, que ce qu'il a*
" *ci-devant faict de n'avoir parlé de la liberté de la*
" *Royne, sa mere, a esté, sur ce qu'elle mesme luy en*
" *avoit mandé, de ne le faire,* et qu'il ne vouloit servir à
" personne ingrate,' et, affin que ung chacun cogneut,
" qu'il n'avoyt en riens manqué de son debvoir envers
" elle, il a voullu, que toutes les lettres qu'elle luy
" a escriptes, comme, en pareil, celles qu'il luy a en-
" voyées, depuis son advénement en ceste couronne,
" fussent enregistrées en la Court de l'Eschiquier de ce

Digitized by Google

" Royaulme : ' Qu'ilz pouvoient adjouster, ou dimi-
" nuer ce que bon leur sembleroit èsd. instructions ;
" mais, que, estant question de sauver la vye de la
" Royne, sa mere, il leur protestoit, que, si elle venoit
" à souffrir, que son sang seroit sur eulx, et non sur
" luy.' En laquelle oppinion ung chacun le voyant
" percister tant instamment, personne ne luy voulut
" replicquer : ce qui a donné à croyre à plusieurs,
" qu'on lui a faict entendre qu'il ne peult avoir la vye
" de mere sauve, sinon que par ce *seul* moien que l'on
" estime avoir esté *premierement* résolu en Angleterre
" que d'estre delibéré par deçà, du moings que ladicte
" Royne d'Angleterre n'en sera ignorante, et qu'il
" n'oubliera d'en faire son proffict, et en prendre ces
" advantaiges, comme aussi de ce que le Roy d'Escosse
" ne ce veut déclarer ouvertement contre elle, adve-
" nant mesme la mort de sa mere, si non, en cas que
" la Royne d'Angleterre et ces Estatz le voulussent
" priver de son droict à la succession d'Angleterre,
" ainsi que luy mesme a dict au Comte Bodouel, et au
" Chevalier Séton ; ce que peut aussi avoir donné plus
" de couraige, ainsi que l'on prétend, aulx factionnaires
" d'Angleterre, qui sont près de luy, et qui cognois-
" sent la facilité qu'on dict estre en luy, de persuader
" la Royne d'Angleterre, et ceulx de son Conseil, de
" ne *faindre* faire procéder contre ladicte Roine sa
" mere, *la mort de laquelle, encores qu'elle lui fut des-*
" *plaisante, ilz pourroit néant-moings, avec les grans*
" *moiens qu'ilz ont en sa court, pour leur faveur près*
" *de luy, ou, en tout événement,* avec les occasions que
" le temps pourra apporter, *excuser l'exécution qui en*
" *pourroit estre faicte :* ce qui n'est beaucoup hors de

Digitized by Google

" propos, Sire, veu que ledit Grai a confessé au Roy
" d'Escosse avoir escript en Angleterre, au Secrétaire
" Valzingham, et autres, qu'il n'estoit d'advis que l'on
" fict exécuter publiquement la Roine, sa mere; mais
" bien, la faire mourir par poison: ce que, aussi, il
" ne pouvoit desnyer, pour estre les lettres, qu'il en
" avoyt escriptes, venues à la cognoissance de plu-
" sieurs gentilzhommes, et autres, lesquelz, certains
" de ces mauvais offices envers lad. Royne, et son
" filz, l'ont menacé de mort, s'il advenoyt faulte d'elle;
" ce que a cesté occasion, ainsi que l'on estime, qu'il
" a entreprins ledict voiaige avec plus de volonté;
" espérant que sy la vye de la Royne est sauve (come
" il ce promect qu'elle sera, ayant protesté au Roy,
" son souverain, de n'y vouloir espargner aulcune
" chose qui soyt en luy, et qu'il m'a confirmé, lors de
" son partement, l'allant veoyr, et led. Mellevyn,
" pour les faire souvenir de procedder, conjoincte-
" ment, vers la Royne d'Angleterre, avec MM. de
" Bellyevre, et de Chasteauneuf, ambassadeurs de
" V. M.), il pourra effacer la mauvaise oppinion, qu'on
" a conceue de luy, et par là, et ce qu'il espere traic-
" ter et obtenir de lad. Royne d'Angleterre, aman-
" der les fautes passées; ayant aussi mis en considér-
" ation que, estant en Angleterre, la seureté sera plus
" grande pour luy, advenant la mort de la dicte Roine
" d'Escosse, que par deça, où il luy seroit impossible
" surtout résister à l'impétuosité et effort de plusieurs
" qui seroient esmeuz au premier bruict qu'ilz auroy-
" ent d'icelle. Ledict Roy d'Escosse a remonstré, en
" l'assemblée de sesd. Estatz, oultre ce que dessus,
" qu'il luy estoit besoing de rambourcer les despences

Digitized by Google

" qui ont esté faictes, pour envoyer ces Ambassa-
" deurs en Angleterre, à l'entretenement desquelz il
" les prioit d'adviser, et aussi en ce qui pourroit estre
" nécessaire, pour en envoyer vers V. M., en Es-
" paigne, et ailleurs, où il cognoistera les affaires pou-
" voir mériter, et dont il n'avoyt moyen, pour ne
" lever sur eulx aulcunes tailles, subsides, coustumes,
" ne impositions; les priant luy faire fournir, pour
" l'effect que dessus, cent mil livres de ceste monnoye,
" qui reviennent à quarante mil escuz: ilz luy dirent,
" que, non seullement, ils seroient prestz de luy satis-
" faire en cela, mais aussi, d'employer leurs vyes et
" leurs biens en une si juste occasion; toutesfois,
" pour ce qu'il n'estoit encores asseuré d'envoyer vers
" V. M., et en Espaigne, et attendant qu'il s'y résolve,
" ilz sont très contans de lever sur eulx, tant ce qui
" a esté advancé pour le voiaige desd. Ambassa-
" deurs, qui sont allez en Angleterre, que ce qui sera
" nécessaire pour leur entretenement, pendant qu'ilz
" y demeureront; et ont député des commissaires,
" pour faire levée et taxe de quarante mil livres, qu'ilz
" ont accordée, qui commancent à y procedder.
" Qui, est, Sire, tout ce que j'ay peu aprandre, et
" cognoistre avoir esté faicté en lad. assemblée,
" que plusieurs estimoyment avoit esté faicte par
" led. Roy d'Escosse, pour avoir le consentement
" de ces Estatz, de ce déclarer ouvertement con-
" tre la Royne d'Angleterre, si elle permetoit
" estre procédé plus oultre contre la Royne, sa
" mere.

" Sire, je prie Dieu donner à V. M., en très par-

Digitized by Google

" faicte santé, très heureuse et très logue vye, A Edim-
" bourg, le dernier jour de décembre, 1586.
" Vostre très humble, très obéissant,
" et très-fidel serviteur et subject,
" De Courcelles." *

(On the back) " Au Roy."
(Seal) Broken.

Official Contemporary Copy of a Letter from Elizabeth, Queen of England, to Henry III. King of France. (King's Library, at Paris, No. 9513, Demesmes Collection, " Lettres originales d'Etat," tom. iii. fol. 421.

" Monsieur, mon bon frère, le vieil argument, sur
" qui j'ay basti souvent mes lettres, me semble si ex-
" trêmement estrange, que suis contraincte à changer
" de stile, et, au lieu de graces, user de plainctes.
" Mon Dieu! comment estes-vous quasi forcéné à
" croire, qui se soit honneur, ou acte d'amitié à re-
" prendre l'opprimé, et——recercher la mort d'une
" innocente, pour la faire proye d'une meurtriere?
" Helas! postposant ma qualité, non moins digne
" que la vostre, ne vous sovenant de mon affection en
" vostre endroict la plus sincere, ayant quasi perdu
" la réputation entre tous Princes de ma profession,
" leur ayant tousjours négligé, pour ne vous contur-
" ber le Royaulme, aussi souffrant jusques à présent
" le plus grand danger que jamais Prince endura, en
" attente de quelques probables offertes, ou raisons,

* The letters of Courcelles are referred to in M'Crie's *Life of Knox.*

Digitized by Google

" pour me garder de ne faire ce que, à mon journel
" danger, je souffre. Nonobstant, pour bel épilogue
" de tout ceste négotiation, vous estes si aveuglé, par
" les persuasions de telz, qui, à la fin, je prie Dieu
" qui ne vous ruynent; qu'en lieu de mil remercie-
" mens, bien méritez de ma part, pour si rare et inu-
" sitée faveur, Monsieur de Believre m'a faict enten-
" dre ung languaige, que ne puis trop bien inter-
" préter; car, pour vous en ressentir, que je ne sauve
" la vye, me semble une menasse d'ennemy, que, je
" le vous prometz, ne me fera jamais craindre, ains,
" est le plus court chemin, pour dépescher la cause de
" tant de malheurs. Je serois bien marrye, que es-
" prouvassez l'issue d'une si ambitieuse action; et,
" pour conclure, laissez-moy, je vous prie, Monsieur,
" mon bon frere, entendre, par mon Ambassadeur,
" én quel terme je prendray ces motz, car je ne vive-
" ray heure, que Prince quelconque se puisse vanter
" de tant d'humilité mienne, que je boive, à mon dés-
" honneur, ung tel traict. Il est vrai, Monsieur de
" Believre a ung peu mitigé son langaige, en disant,
" que nullement vouldriés souhaitter, beaucoup moins
" rechercher, mon péril. Surquoy, je vous escriptz
" ce petit mot de lettre, vous laissant sçavoir, que,
" s'il vous plaist pour telle me traicter, jamais ne trou-
" verez une plus fidelle et plus asseuréé amitié, que la
" mienne; mais, aultrement, je ne suis naye de si
" bas lieu, ny gouverne si petitz Royaulmes, que, en
" droict, et honneur, je céderay à Prince vivant que
" m'injurira; et ne doubte, par la grace de Dieu, qui
" ne face ma partie assez forte, pour me conserver.
" Pourtant, estudiez, je vous prie, plustost, à con-

Digitized by Google

" servèr nostre amitié, que pour la diminuer; vos " Estatz, mon bon frere, ne permectent trop d'en- " nemys, et ne donnez, au nom de Dieu, la bride à " chevaulx effarouchez, de peur qu'ilz n'esbranlent " vostre zelle (selle). Je le vous dis de cœur sincere " et (*du tout*) de fidel; priant le Créateur vous con- " server en bonne vye et longue.

" Vostre très seure et fidelle seur cousine,

" ELIZABETH, R.

(Indorsed in the same hand-writing as follows) " Double de la lettre escripte, par la Royne d'Angle- " terre, au Roy." (60.)

PAGE 344. CHAP. VII.

The following minute description of Mary Stuart's dress, on the morning of her execution, is extracted from a letter addressed to Lord Burghley, three days after her death.

" On her head she had a dressing of lawn, edged with bone lace, a pomander chain, and an *agnus Dei* about her neck; a crucifix in her hand, a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them; a veil of lawn fastened to her cowl, bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bone lace; her gown was of black satin, pointed, with a train, and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn buttons of jet, and trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black satin, cut with a pair of sleeves of velvet; under them her kirtle, wholly of figured black satin, and her petticoat upper body, unlaced in the back, of crimson

Digitized by Google

satin, and her petticoat skirt of crimson velvet; her shoes of Spanish leather, the rough side outward; a pair of green silk garters; her nether stockings worsted-coloured watchet, clocked with silver, and next her legs a pair of Jersey hose, white."

The veil here described is said to be still in existence. A print of it is to be found in the British Museum.

THE END.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google